

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

A NEW DANGER AND ANOTHER MOTIVE FOR DECISION.

WHATEVER doubts may have heretofore prevailed among protestant nonconformists, as to the duty incumbent upon them, to take up a position of direct and unmistakable antagonism against the establishment of religion by the civil power, those doubts must, we think, have been torn up, root and branch, by the late debate on the state of Ireland. Dissenters knew well what to look for from those who now hold the reins of government. From the whigs, whose succession to power many of them have begun anew to anticipate, they were somewhat at a loss what to expect. The mists of uncertainty are now dissipated. Lord John Russell, the oracle of the party, has submitted to the country a programme of his future policy. It may be announced in few words—the co-establishment of the Roman catholic and protestant churches in Ireland.

The noble lord has not, in this, as in many cases, given us vague generalities from which ingenuity to extract a meaning such as the wishes would be most disposed to accept—he has himself stated it with unusual precision. He "would establish the two churches on a perfect footing of equality, placing the Roman catholic bishops on a perfect footing of equality with the bishops of the protestant church." This is a principle which he has declared himself "ready to adopt and to follow out to its consequences."

Upon this principle we think it not unlikely that Lord John Russell will ride into power. The repeal movement in Ireland is every day becoming too formidable for management. It has seriously alarmed the government. It will, most probably, displace them. Neither Mr O'Connell, nor any of the active agitators who surround him, can cherish an expectation, even were they prompted by the wish, to effect the object at which they professedly aim. Ireland, however, must be pacified, and the popular cry for repeal must be hushed. By whom is this to be accomplished? It must be by the agency of Mr O'Connell and the priesthood. What may suffice to purchase their services in this direction? We answer, without a moment's hesitation, the establishment of the Roman catholic clergy, the legal recognition of the Roman catholic hierarchy, and the admission of Roman catholic bishops to the House of Lords. This ample concession—this right of the Irish people (if religious establishments could, in any sense, constitute a right), would, with a liberal extension of the franchise, and an indulgent distribution of judicial appointments, be taken, we doubt not, in present lieu of repeal, and Mr O'Connell turning to his countrymen would tell them that, for the first time in the history of his beloved isle, England and Ireland were to be put under the same system of government, and that the union which, when it was one of parchment only, they had sought to repeal, might, now that it was to become a vital reality, be permitted to continue.

The co-establishment, then, of popery with protestantism, in Ireland, is not now, what it first appeared to be, an airy phantom, merely, but is become a real conception, not, by any means, unlikely to be brought to the birth. If there be objections to it, it behoves that they be now explicitly stated, and seriously urged. The danger approaches our very gates. It must be met, not waited for—met on well-chosen ground, and with uncompromising front—met by a manly and determined assertion of the only principle which, while it would do justice to oppressed Ireland, on the one hand, and thus borrow and turn to good account the whole force of the existing agitation, would promote, on the other, the interests of truth and Christianity.

Nothing, we think, could be more ungraceful—nothing would more certainly tend to expose both our principles and ourselves to misapprehension and to contempt, than to object to the establishment of popery, as popery. It is not because they deem it to be an erroneous creed, that dissenters should deprecate its union with the civil power. The evils entailed upon a people, and upon Christianity itself, by the establishment of error, are neither so great, nor so difficult of correction, as those resulting from the establishment of truth. State patronage, whilst it may serve to perpetuate a nominal faith, invariably undermines its power, and robs it of its inherent vitality. It may give

increased permanence to the doctrines which it favours, but it debauches the spiritual sense, and relaxes the moral habits, of the men avowedly set apart to proclaim them. It preserves ecclesiastical articles and ritual formulas from natural decay, but it destroys the vital energy of the clergy who subscribe to and practise them. If, consequently, we are to have a union of church and state, then, we say, let that church profess any doctrines, however unscriptural, embody any creed, however absurd, rather than, by holding the truth, to surround it with an atmosphere of worldliness, and expose it to misunderstanding, reproach, and contempt. Let the meretricious caresses of civil authority be bestowed anywhere rather than upon God's truth. Leave but that untouched and uncontaminated, and you leave in its integrity the power which alone is competent to grapple with the world's wickedness and woe. Hide that beneath corruption—associate that with all the mean and mad freaks of human selfishness and ambition—put that bright light into the dim and dingy horn lantern of an established priesthood—and what is it you do, but neutralise the very means, and deprive of its virtue the only remedy, by which man's moral wretchedness is eventually to be cured. It is not, then, because Roman catholicism is what it is, that we object to its co-establishment with protestantism, or, rather Anglicanism, in Ireland; and we devoutly trust that dissenters will not be induced to revive the war-whoop of "No popery!" They will not, thereby, serve Christianity—they will exasperate religious animosities—they will inflict injustice upon Ireland—they will bring contempt upon themselves.

What path, then, is open to them? for that they will stand by in guilty silence, and see doctrines so utterly subversive, in their judgment, of the gospel, formally elevated into a connexion with the state, we have not the smallest fear. There is but one way in which they can meet this new danger with honour to themselves, with advantage to their fellow-countrymen, and with a certain prospect of rendering essential service to the truth. The moment has come for them to take up a firm stand against the principle of religious establishments. To this duty they are solemnly, urgently, and incessantly called by the extraordinary events of the present times. The educational clauses of the Factories bill were instrumental in shaking them from the slumber of years. The disruption of the Scottish church drew attention in the direction of this momentous question, and served to teach them that the noble spirit of martyrdom is not extinct in the church. The ghost of pharisaism again walks the earth; and ritualism, in our own English establishment, threatens to strangle intelligent worship and faith. There can be no doubt that the mind of the country is prepared for a searching examination into the nature and attributes of the principle which is producing such results.

All this we have repeatedly urged upon the attention of our readers. The declaration of Lord John Russell adds force to all our arguments. The body of nonconformists cannot remain inactive much longer. The people of this country are not prepared to see the establishment of popery in the neighbouring isle, especially when popery but thinly disguised is manning the walls and occupying all the posts of trust in their own state church. The people of Ireland do not ask the civil power to take under its patronage their priesthood or their faith. There exists no numerous party within the empire who desire any extension of the principle to other than the episcopal denomination. The selfish designs of aristocracy are now laid bare. Patronage they will maintain at any expense. What care they for the truth? What matters it to these men whether the ecclesiastical property in Ireland, or elsewhere, ultimately flows into protestant or popish reservoirs, so they but be the channel by which it reaches its destination? They would establish Mohammedanism itself; aye! the vilest, most debasing forms of heathenism, if they were but permitted to retain the principle, and with the principle the patronage, influence, and power, of a state church.

Again, then, we ask, what practical steps can be taken which, whilst they will fully meet this new danger, will, at the same time, strike home a blow against the principle of religious establishments? We answer that a conference of dissenting delegates duly summoned—a conference fairly and fully representative of all the friends of the volun-

tary principle in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland—a conference assembling in some central spot, conducted with becoming seriousness, and devoted to a thorough exposition of the impiety, injustice, and inexpediency of any, even the most remote, alliance of Christianity, in any form, with the civil power—a conference which, at this critical juncture, should send forth, backed by the whole weight of its authority, a firm, decisive, and well-reasoned protest against the state church principle, an emphatic condemnation of the application of that principle, and an earnest exhortation to every protestant nonconformist to be up and doing, in every legitimate way, for the assertion, maintenance, and complete extension of freedom of conscience—such a conference, we say, if called for these avowed objects, would be not only eminently successful, in itself considered, but would utterly defeat the plans of my Lord Russell and his whig associates, and strike a salutary dread into the bosom of that rampant high-churchism which, unless it be speedily crushed, will destroy every vestige of religious liberty, handed down to us by our suffering and martyred forefathers. The three countries would be equally and deeply interested in its proceedings. Its voice would fall upon ears sensitively susceptible to the truth. It would attract the notice and enlist the sympathies of the myriads who fear the restoration, in our own land, of popery to power. It would aid to turn the repeal movement in Ireland into a safe and beneficial channel. It would go far to seal the doom of the establishment, both in that country and in Scotland. It would shake the church of England down to its lowest foundations. O! to be the honoured instrument of convening such an assembly! Are there none amongst us fired with so worthy an ambition? None, whose station and influence warrant them in taking the first step, and whose interest in this great cause is commensurate with their power? Shall this providential opportunity be allowed to slip by unimproved? Forbid it! O! forbid it, consistency, honour, patriotism, and religion!

IRISH PRESBYTERIAN MARRIAGES.

THE present is the most unfortunate of all governments. Now its own acts—then the acts of its supporters—sometimes the clergy whom it protects and pays—and anon the religious sects whom it does not pay, and but grudgingly protects—raise about it a storm which frightfully shakes the building beneath whose roof it takes shelter. As though the disruption of the Scottish church was not enough, our ministers must needs worry dissenters, and provoke a hurricane of wrath by the introduction of the Factories bill. The Irish Roman catholics, oppressed and insulted, have resolved upon pulling down the establishment in that kingdom. To crown all, a recent decision of the judges has thrown the whole body of presbyterians in the north of Ireland into a state of effervescence; for by that decision thousands of marriages have been declared to be, or to have been, void—thousands of children have been pronounced illegitimate—and settlements of property, to a fearful extent, have been shaken. For what? Merely to sustain the exclusive pretensions of the Anglican priesthood, and to save them their fees.

It appears that during two hundred years past, the presbyterian clergy of Ireland have been accustomed to solemnise marriages, not merely between parties both of whom happened to be members of their own sect, but also where one or both of the parties married belonged to the communion of the established church. The legality of such marriages has been legally established over and over again. No one questioned it. The matter, however, annoyed the state clergy, who claim exclusive right to marry members of their own church. A case of bigamy occurs—the man, to avoid the consequences of a disgraceful act, pleads that his first marriage was void, on the ground that the parties being, the one a presbyterian, and the other an episcopalian, were married by a presbyterian clergyman. The case is raised by ecclesiastical intolerance into importance. The Primate of Ireland is reported to have paid the expenses of the trial. The judges decide that such a marriage is not legal—that it should have been solemnised by a clergyman "in priest's orders"—that presbyterian ministers do not come under that description—and that, consequently, all marriages of episcopalians solemnised by presbyterians are *ipso facto* void.

The spirit evinced by the established clergy in this recent aggression upon previously established rights has excited against them the indignation of the presbyterian body. At the annual General Assembly of that denomination in Ireland, held at Belfast on Tuesday se'nnight, the following was one of the resolutions passed:—

"3. That, should the law, in conformity with the opinion of the judges, be established against us by the House of Lords, and mixed marriages celebrated by our ministers consequently declared to be illegal, we would consider ourselves treated with great injustice, inasmuch as for more than two hundred years we have exercised this privilege without impeachment, and we can see no reason, either from the word of God or the practice of all other Christian countries, why the presence of a minister of a prelate communion should be essential to the marriage tie; and that this assembly will, by deputation, by petition, and by every constitutional means in their power, seek to maintain the place they have ever occupied, and to which they are so fully entitled."

Here is another call upon dissenters to be astir for separation. The church, by her meddling and intolerant spirit, is raising up against herself hostility in every quarter. In England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, abundant material exists for combining into a powerful and almost irresistible organisation. Let but a rallying point be established, and unexpected strength will instantly gather about it.

CHURCH RATES, HACKNEY.—On Wednesday morning a meeting of the vestry was held, the rector in the chair, and Dr Nicholl's services were secured for the occasion by the pro-rate party. A rate of 2d. in the pound was proposed and carried by 54 to 31. A poll was demanded, and at its conclusion there were 373 for the rate, and 43 against it. No exertion was made by either party during the poll; in fact, the dissenters, whose numerical strength is admitted by churchmen to be overwhelming, refrained from taking part in the contest.

CHURCH RATE SEIZURES AT IPSWICH.—In the parish of St Nicholas of this town the instruments of mother church have been busily engaged in despoiling certain church rate recusants of their goods and chattels. Mr J. Clark, of Ipswich, says, in the *Suffolk Chronicle*, "George Cunnold, the constable, and John Pettitt, his assistant, have taken brooms and brushes from Mr Bishop, the same from Mr Sawyer, to between £3 and £4 value, and a table from Mr Kewell (quakers), in each case about four times the amount of the rate. The same parties have taken from me three Spanish mahogany Trafalgar chairs (part of a set of six costing about £7 1s.) for a rate of 7s. 6d. and expenses of 14s. or 15s. more, and refused to take other articles upon which less loss would have been incurred. They have taken ten or eleven lbs of tea from Mr James Andrews, Friars' street, and not satisfied with what they had taken, a second seizure was made of twelve or thirteen lbs more, cost of the two parcels, close upon £5, for a rate of 16s. 3d. and expenses £1 2s.; the second seizure is decidedly illegal."

CHURCH RATES.—HEXHAM.—Mr Joseph Ridley, who last year had his house rifled, again appeared before the magistrates on Tuesday, for nonpayment of the rate. Besides stating, emphatically, the injustice of the claim generally, and of the Hexham church rate in particular (as being illegal as well as unjust), he took sundry objections to the individual claim upon himself; to all of which the magistrates (J. C. Jobling and John Errington, Esqrs) gave a courteous hearing, and with evident regret declared themselves obliged to order a distraint upon the defendant's goods. A seizure and sale will of course take place.—*Gateshead Observer*.

CHURCH RATES:—WESLEYAN RECUSANTS.—On Wednesday last, at the South Shields petty sessions, the justice room in the town hall was crowded, several of the rate-paying householders having been summoned to show cause why they refused to pay church rate. Joseph Simpson, Robert Anderson, and William Anderson, Esqrs, were the sitting magistrates. Thomas Forsyth and Tony Waller, Esqrs, wardens of the parochial chapelry of St Hilda's, were in attendance, and were accompanied by their solicitor, John Tinley, Esq. John Scott, of Catherine street, Wesleyan Methodist, was the first recusant who appeared. The sum demanded of him was 1s. 9d. The defendant stated, that he had paid the rate for many years, and never grumbled, but latterly he had begun to think it very hard that he, a dissenter, should pay two church rates, while many persons did not even pay one. He paid both for Jarrow and St Hilda's—which was certainly unfair. He was willing to pay one, but not two; and he had paid to Jarrow, as the mother church, and now refused the rate demanded for the chapel of ease. The bench inquired if he disputed the validity of the rate, and was prepared to do so in the ecclesiastical court? "What!" exclaimed Mr Scott, "get myself into the ecclesiastical court for 1s. 9d. [laughter]? I would rather not:—I will do whatever the bench may decide." The bench said that they were not there to pronounce upon the validity of the rate; they must enforce its payment, unless the defendant ousted their jurisdiction, by declaring his determination to try the validity of the rate in the ecclesiastical court. The defendant declined to do so, and he was adjudged to pay the sum demanded, with 4s. costs. [Mr R. Anderson intimated that St Hilda's would in all probability be constituted a separate parish before long.]—The next case was that of the Rev. H. Lawson, secession minister, who resisted the impost on conscientious grounds. The reverend gentleman stated his views at some length, and was heard by the bench with great courtesy. They

stated, however, that they could not take cognizance of his objections:—the validity of the rate being disputed, it was their duty to enforce payment. Mr Lawson said he was well aware of their position, and thanked them for the courteous manner in which they discharged a painful duty. He should take joyfully the spoiling of his goods.—William Ewart, grocer, an independent, grounded his resistance to the rate on principle. The impost was a social wrong, and he would not submit to it with a good conscience. Payment was ordered, with costs.—In these three cases, the rate was but 1s. 9d. In a fourth case the rate was declared invalid, in consequence of a technical flaw in the indictment.—*Gateshead Observer*.

EASTER DUES AND THE VICAR OF ALMONDBURY.—On Tuesday last six brush heads, the net cost of which from the manufacturer was twenty shillings and sixpence, were sold at the Cloth hall door, Huddersfield, having been seized for 1s. 8d. Easter dues, due to the Rev. Lewis Jones, vicar of Almondbury, by John Unsworth, a shopkeeper at Milnsbridge, and a member of the society of Friends. The sum realised was 9s. 9d., and the debt and execution was 9s. 8d., leaving one penny for the auctioneer! Will the rev. gentleman levy another distress to pay that functionary's charges, or will he pay the amount from his hard-earned income?—*Leeds Mercury*.

NEW TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.—The *Leicester Mercury* of Saturday has the following:—

"We call attention to a letter, in our first page, of 'An Old Dissenter,' upon the importance of directing the awakened zeal of nonconformists into a channel of permanent usefulness. We have several times urged this subject generally upon the attention of our readers, but our correspondent goes into detail, and particularly recommends the issue of tracts, by every dissenting congregation, in the circle around it."

"These publications are intended to be, some of them historical, to bring especially before the younger members of the nonconforming body the persecutions and mischiefs occasioned, in past times, by an established church; some to set forth gospel doctrines as opposed to Puseyism; others to affirm and explain the principles of civil and religious liberty, and to urge, as their natural result, the separation of church and state. They are designed to be brief, terse, and popular. There is no lack of men well qualified to write them; some of them, indeed, need be little more than compilations. The cost would be small, and might be further diminished wherever the loan system could be adopted."

Their correspondent proposes that a series of cheap tracts, sold by the hundred, should be composed by talented friends of the cause, and distributed somewhat on the plan of the Complete Suffrage Union.

WHAT'S AMISS?—THE EDUCATION QUESTION.—The meeting that was advertised in the *Times*, to take place on Friday last, at Willis's rooms, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair, to consider what measures the church, through the National School society, should take to promote education in the manufacturing districts, in consequence of the abandonment of the government bill, has, we are sorry to learn, been postponed *sine die*, rumour says, in consequence of some difference of opinion amongst those who usually advocate the cause of the society on such occasions. In the mean time the British and Foreign School society are, it is understood, in the field, and will doubtless take active measures to occupy the ground.—*Record*.

DR CHALMERS AND THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE.—The bicentenary commemoration (says the *Scotsman*) took place in Canonmills hall on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and its sittings were presided over by Dr Chalmers, Mr Elliott, Professor Symington, Mr Muir, and Mr Shaw, as moderators and members of the free church, united secession, reformed presbyterian, relief, and original seceders. In itself this list would indicate the terms of perfect brotherhood and equality on which the parties met on this occasion; but the speeches delivered were still more strikingly indicative of a desire for fraternisation among those present. The address of Dr Chalmers created an immense sensation in the meeting of Thursday, and will create a still stronger one over the country, containing, as it did, a complete recognition of the practical value of voluntary principles. The following is that portion of his speech bearing on the subject:—

Voluntaryism is now upon its trial; and I want to give it a fair trial, and I am sure I shall do it all the justice in my power by drawing forth its resources and its capabilities to the utmost [laughter and cheers]. The way to give it a fair trial is to try how much it will yield, when all influences are brought fairly to bear upon it; and, in justice to the question—in justice to voluntaryism, I must say that for a good many years we knocked at the door of government with a view to receive aid from them to carry forth the gospel to the humblest and lowest classes of the country; and we were there exposed to all the higgings with which we are so familiar in the market. We were cheapened down to the lowest possible amount; we were asked, would £10,000 do for you? and the result is, that we got nothing at all [laughter]. We have since tried the voluntary principle; and, in a few months as we before negotiated years with the government, voluntaryism has made this demonstration, that it has given us £300,000 [loud cheers], so that she has begun well; and it is my fervent hope that she will end well. We are now in the thick of the experiment; we will do it all the justice we can; and nothing will delight me more. I don't want to use scholastic phrases; I might speak of the difference of voluntaryism *ab extra* as distinguished from voluntaryism *ab intra*, and by the help of that definition I might perhaps defend my own consistency [laughter and cheers]. But I don't want to make use of those scholastic distinctions. I invite and beseech voluntaryism to open upon us all her fountain heads, whether *ab extra* or *ab intra* [continued laughter]. This reminds me of the story of the well-digger, who succeeded so amply in obtaining water that he made a narrow escape from drowning in the abundant rushing of the streams

which he had evoked from their hiding places [laughter]; and so I say in perfect honesty, that if my favourite system—the establishment system which I advocate—if it should incur, it may be, the semblance, nay, even the reality of defeat and refutation, I should heartily rejoice—if voluntaryism should play upon us in all directions, I would be heartily glad, even though it should make such a demonstration of its excellence and power as well nigh to submerge myself, and utterly to overwhelm my arguments [laughter and cheering].

This meeting (says the same paper) is in every respect one of great importance, affording, as it does, a complete answer to those who say, that while a disturbance has certainly been created in the establishment by the late secession, voluntaryism has yet gained by it nothing.

THE SCOTCH ESTABLISHMENT.—A meeting was held in Edinburgh, on Wednesday last, of gentlemen, members of the town councils of Edinburgh, Dundee, Paisley, and Stirling, to consider the position of the burghs of Scotland in relation to the church at the present emergency. After a careful consideration of the existing state of affairs, the similarity of position in which the principal towns of Scotland are placed, and the advantage that must result in the union of the whole, to obtain relief from the ecclesiastical burden imposed on them, it was agreed to issue circulars in the name of the gentlemen present to all the towns in Scotland, involved in the maintenance of churches, for another meeting to devise measures of relief—to be held in Edinburgh that day fortnight, and to invite the councils of the various towns to send deputies forward to represent them on the occasion.—*Scotsman*.

COLLEGE OF THE FREE PROTESTING CHURCH, SCOTLAND.—Dr Chalmers has been appointed principal and primarius professor of divinity in this intended college, and Drs Welsh, Cunningham, and Duncan have also been chosen professors in various departments of theology and literature. Teachers belonging to other evangelical communions are declared eligible to the office of masters of schools, aided by the general education committee of the new church.

THE SCOTCH CHURCH.—The *Gazette* contains the appointments of six clergymen to livings vacated by Dr Chalmers and five others of the seceding ministers.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

As some alteration in the present position of the Irish church establishment is now almost inevitable, we give below the sentiments entertained by the leading statesmen in the House of Commons upon the proposed remedies and the general purposes of an ecclesiastical establishment, as expressed by them during the late debates on Irish affairs.

WHIG OPINIONS.

"I therefore should say, that you ought not to destroy the protestant church in Ireland; but I say that you ought to place the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy upon a footing of perfect equality with the protestant bishops and clergy. I am not called upon to produce a plan, it is not my place to do so; but if it were my duty to produce such a plan, I would carry out the principle of equality through all its consequences; and as to practical measures, I have always felt that none could be introduced without consulting those who were chiefly interested in them."—*Lord John Russell*.

"But if it is not right to subvert and destroy the protestant establishment, I say, raise the catholic establishment, place the bishops on a better footing, allot incomes to the priesthood. With respect to endowing the parochial clergy, that would be a great benefit in my opinion, and in fact I before suggested a measure of that nature, so that if the country did not go to the expense of these endowments, individuals might have an opportunity of doing so. Why not pass that measure, which I suggested, authorizing the endowment of the parochial clergy by deed; and enabling the building of glebe-houses? An arrangement of this sort, though far short of a remedy for the existing grievance, would still have a great effect in satisfying the mind of the catholics of Ireland, by improving the condition of their religious instructors."—*Lord Palmerston*.

"They must remove that evil (Irish church) before they could do any good, not by recklessly destroying all church establishments, not by depriving the protestants of their clergy, but by putting the catholics and protestants in every respect on an equality [hear, hear]. The great evil of Ireland was, that her excitable, agricultural, and (he said it without offence) rude people, were just in that position in which above all others they required the influence of a respected and recognized clergy; and parliament committed the greatest mistake in refusing to govern them through the influence of those their religious guides. The great thing they had to do was to bring the catholic clergy into relation with the state—to endow them, and this should be the principle on which they ought to proceed,—to take care that the same provision should be made for the spiritual instruction of catholics throughout Ireland as of members of the episcopalian church."—*Mr C. Butler*.

"Under all the difficulties of the case, he agreed with the hon. member for Mallow, that the whole property of the Irish church should be vested in the commissioners of woods and forests—one proportion to be employed by them in maintaining the protestant church, having regard to its real wants, and the comparative state of the catholic population—and the other, and a fair proportion, to be applied in support of the catholic religion. That appeared the fairest and best proposal that had been made; and he believed it, unfortunately, in the course of their struggles on this subject—in their refusal to do justice to Ireland—in their vain attempt to maintain this property for what they called strictly protestant purposes, if they had not frittered away and lost a large portion of that property, it would have been sufficient for the maintenance of both protestant and catholic churches."—*Lord Howick*.

"The appropriation clause was bought off at the price of 25 per cent. Sacrifice the other three fourths of the tithes, and you will tranquillise Ireland [loud ironical cheers from the ministerial benches, echoed from the opposition]. That was his decided opinion. He was

perfectly satisfied that it would be impossible at the same time to uphold the established church in Ireland and to maintain the union [cheers, and counter cheers]. The tithe fund, however, though it would never satisfy the people to shift it from the tenant to the landlord, might be preserved for religious purposes and distributed equally amongst the working clergy of all denominations, but the bishops and archbishops must be got rid of."—*Mr Ward.*

"Let the state pay the priesthood, and they might depend upon it in a very few years Ireland would be no longer the Ireland she now was. If they would have a quiet, peaceful population, pay the priesthood, and make them small holders of land, and thereby make them interested in the quietude and welfare of the country. They might have peace if they made the priest's interest peaceful; they were now almost in a state of war, because he was goaded by the sight opposed to his eyes every day, nay, every hour, of a dominant church of which his people were constantly complaining."—*Mr Roebuck.*

"I do not say that it would be necessary, or even that it would be desirable, to subvert and utterly to destroy the protestant establishment in Ireland. I would preserve vested rights inviolably [hear, hear, hear], but it is necessary that the church should be reduced to a strict proportion with the wants of the protestants. Everything it is now in the power of the government to do should be done for the purpose of putting the two religions on a perfect equality in point of consideration and dignity."—*Mr Macaulay.*

TORY OPINIONS.

"On the question of Roman catholic endowments he had heard with great interest the opinion of the right honourable gentleman the member for Kildare, whose authority was high upon that subject; and his declaration proved the necessity for the utmost caution. With respect to the protestant church establishment itself, and I believe that I speak the feelings of all my colleagues, we adhere to the decision that the establishment must be maintained, and that no portion of the protestant property can, with good faith, be granted for the purposes of the Roman catholic church. * * * On every ground of policy, of good faith, and, he might add, of religious feeling, he, for one, could not consent to the alienation of the protestant property to the endowment of the Roman catholic church."—*Sir J. Graham.*

"The honourable member for Sheffield had said that, if government did not give up the church in Ireland, they must give up the union. He (*Mr Shaw*), on the other hand, maintained that, if they gave up the church, they must give up the union also. The protestants of Ireland were not insignificant in number, whilst they were generally distinguished for intelligence and determination of purpose; and sure he was that, if occasion required it, they would be prepared to stake their lives in defence of their church."—*Mr Shaw.*

"With respect to the established church, I have already stated that we are not prepared to make one alteration in the law by which that church and its revenues shall be impaired."—*Sir Robert Peel.*

Correspondence.

A CLERGYMAN'S VIEWS OF "SEPARATION."

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—There appears a mighty difference of opinion between you and "The Author of Jethro," respecting the duty of dissenters at the present crisis; but I must surely misunderstand the one or the other, or both of you; for I cannot believe that "The Author of Jethro" would advocate, or the editor of the *Patriot* would sanction, a timid policy or imperfect plan of operation at a moment of so much danger to our liberties, and of so much promise to our exertions. I will merely give you the opinion of an enlightened, faithful, and excellent clergyman of the established church, of whom, though the country knows nothing, I think it may be affirmed, "he is sterling stuff;" and were we, as dissenters, to exhibit the bold front and determined combination he recommends, our liberties would be wrought out and secured in a very short time. Such has been his opinion for years.

"I think with the *Patriot*," my clerical friend says, "that things wear a better aspect for us than they did this time last year. And now that Dr Peel's sorry prescription has done so badly for his poor silly patient, John Bull, I would fain hope that the sinking, exhausted, and cheated country will yet rise, and take its own business into its own hands, and put a speedy end to monopolies in corn, commerce, legislation, the church, &c., &c., &c."

In a subsequent letter of my friend's, I find a passage still more in point:—

"Well! my dear brother, methinks we can now congratulate one another on the approach of propitious days! A thousand thanks to 'Jamie of Netherby' for tendering 'the olive branch,' which will speak peace to the ghost or manes of defunct Mother Church! Yes! Giles at Leeds, and Dr A. Reed at the British and Foreign School society's anniversary (with Lord John Russell in the chair), have boldly commenced the battle, and led you dissenters fairly into the field. Quit you like men. Now 's the day, and now 's the hour! Dr Reid's speech was the best at the May meetings. 'Twas Luther all over. Now that the dissenters have been furnished with such an extraordinary stimulus, what shall we think of you all, if you should again slacken your pace in working out your professed principles? Verily, the triumphant meetings at Leeds and Bradford, for effecting a separation between church and state, 'look like work,' and like beginning at the right end! Only this I say in strict confidence: you will not quote it in any company or letter as my opinion. As for ourselves, Pusey's sermon, and the disruption of the Scotch kirk, are hopeful signs of the times, that the happy crisis is at hand; so that when demented prelates are dreaming about the universal prevalence of popish fooleries, and all 'ritual observances,' swift destruction will come upon their system and crumble altogether!!!" "Who knows, but that in more propitious days, I may yet have the great pleasure of shaking hands with you all at ———?"

"As ever, Dr ———, most affectionately yours."

I add not a word of comment to my friend's nervous appeal. It seems to suit the question at issue between you and Dr Campbell, and I leave it to make its own impression upon the Dr's mind; for when once he gets thoroughly imbued with the merits of a just cause, he

will struggle till he carries it through. Were I a classic, I would say "*Fas est*," &c. The Dr knows the rest—only that my friend is not the enemy of any thing that is just, liberal, or wise. I am, sir, yours faithfully,
July 11th, 1843. PACIFICUS HORTATOR.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Arms (Ireland) bill, for, 2.
Army and Navy, against, 1.
Cooper and others, for mitigation of treatment of, 1.
Corn laws, for, 3.
Coroners bill, against, 11.
for, 1.
County Courts bill, for, 15.
Ecclesiastical Courts bill, against, 2.
Factories bill, against, 4.
for, 1.
Post office, for further reform of, 1.
Scientific Societies act, for, 3.
St Asaph and Bangor dioceses, against union of, 1.
Union with Ireland, in favour of, 1.
Woodcut by machinery, for imposing a tax on, 3.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

1. Apprehension of Offenders (France) bill.
2. ——— (America) bill.
3. Limitation of Actions (Ireland) bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Municipal Corporations (No. 2.) bill.
2. Metropolitan Buildings bill.
3. Designs Copyright bill.
4. Coalwhippers bill.
5. Apprehension of Offenders (France) bill.
6. ——— (America) bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. Court of Exchequer (Ireland) bill.
2. Coroners bill.
3. Arms (Ireland) bill.
4. Appeals Privy Council bill.
5. Cathedral Churches (Wales) bill.
6. Municipal Corporations (No. 2.) bill.
7. Public Works (Ireland) bill.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME AND PASSED.

1. Bridges (Ireland) bill.
2. Scientific Societies bill.
3. Cathedral Churches (Wales) bill.

DEBATES.

Wednesday, July 12th.

REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES (IRELAND).

Mr Serjeant MURPHY commenced the adjourned debate on Mr O'Brien's motion. He admitted the good intentions of the Irish government, but denied that good intentions would suffice. Practical remedies were needed; and to find them was the province, not of those who complained of the evils, but of those who were entrusted with the government. But if the suggestion of a remedy were incumbent on the persons complaining, he would propose the adoption of the Canadian policy, which had rejected all considerations of party. It had been perfectly successful; and the only difference between the case of the Canadas and that of Ireland was, that in Ireland there had been no outbreak.

Lord BERNARD would support the government, because they had pledged themselves to maintain the church and to maintain the union. He deprecated the doctrine that the Roman catholic clergy should have a veto on the nomination of protestant bishops. He vindicated the character of the Irish landlords. He conjured Mr O'Connell to desist from his present course, and declared the determination of the protestant people to uphold the union.

Sir H. W. BARRON complained of the appointment of bishops unfavourable to the system of national education; which he insisted was not a system of Roman catholic education alone, but of education for Roman catholics and protestants alike. He had resolved that he would never join any political association; but he had been driven by the official appointments of this government to join the repealers; and other gentlemen, whom he named, had been forced by the same consideration into the same course. He believed too that if the subject were referred to a committee, Ireland would be found to be very unjustly treated in the financial apportionment between the two countries. After an energetic condemnation of the policy of the present cabinet in detail, he called on the ministry, in the language of some of their own supporters, to give large measures of concession; by those, and not by arms bills, they would disarm the Irish people.

Mr HAMILTON said, that in order truly to trace the causes of the present excitement, the examination should be made without reference to party; and as he certainly was under no obligation to the present government, what he should offer might be entitled to more consideration. He believed this excitement among the people to have arisen, not from any spontaneous feeling of their own, but from agitation got up for political purposes.

Mr ROCHE defended the repealers, of whom he professed himself one, from the imputed object of bringing back the whigs. All the members who had spoken in this debate, repealers or not, had admitted the existence of the alleged grievances, but no measure for their redress had been proposed by the government. The agitation had been stigmatised as rebellious; but if it were, why had not ministers asked for the means to put it down? He called upon any of them who might follow him in that debate to designate him as a rebel. The people were resolved, that if the present ministers would not redress their grievances, they would not be quiet till those grievances were redressed somehow. They were not conspiring in secret. Their opinions and their grievances were before the British public. Those who addressed them were accused of using language of excitement; but it was impossible to address men upon their grievances without exciting them.

Mr AUGUSTUS O'BRIEN (Northamptonshire) began by chastising some of the members who had spoken on his own side against their own friends, and called the attention of the House to the justly scornful feeling with which such aid was received by the party to whom it was offered. He feared that Ireland had suffered more from her own landlords, her own magistrates, her own politicians, than from England. He vindicated the usefulness of the protestant church of Ireland. If it was a badge of slavery, was it less so now than while the Melbourne ministry continued to endure it?

Sir W. CLAY spoke a few words, which were not distinctly audible.

Mr HUME said he had always considered the church as Ireland's giant grievance. They were now going to war to support that sinecure church. It might do good to one-twelfth of the population, but what did it do for the other eleven? The religion of the majority should be the established religion in Ireland as is the case in Scotland. He would advert to none of the other grievances mentioned in this debate; the church was grievance enough.

Mr C. BULLER, after praising the speeches of several gentlemen on his own side of the house, adverted to that feeling of foreign states which Mr Roche had appealed to, and advised the government to take warning by it. He was glad that Sir R. Peel had had the wisdom and generosity to abstain from measures of coercion; but he had found, with great regret, that the right hon. baronet had resolved also to abstain from measures of conciliation. Referring to the opposition speeches made by some of the ministerial members, he hailed with delight the development of liberal opinions among them; and only regretted that some of them, being young members, had not yet learned to make their votes fit their speeches. When gentlemen complained that past concession had not produced tranquillity in Ireland, they should remember that where evils had prevailed so long, discontent could not cease at once. The church was the great evil.

I say, that you must remove that evil before you can do any good—not by recklessly destroying the Protestant establishment—not by depriving the protestants of the example and instruction of their clergy; but by putting the catholics and protestants in every respect on an equality [hear, hear]. I say it is a great and real wrong to the Irish people, to this excitable, agricultural people, who are just in that position in which, above all others, a people stand in want of a respectable and efficient clergy. I say you committed the greatest wrong on that people in withdrawing the state from all relation with those who are the real clergy of the people, and refused to govern the people through the influence of those who are the real guides of the people [hear, hear]. I say, then, the great thing you have to do is to bring the catholic clergy into relations with the state, to meet them in the bonds of amity; and let this be your principle, not to destroy the establishment without any real need, but to take care that there shall be just as great provision made for the spiritual instruction of the catholics throughout Ireland, as for the spiritual instruction of the members of the episcopal church [hear, hear].

As to the question of landlord and tenant, it was a mistake to say that the law had been the same in Ireland as in England, for in England the landlord had been deterred from wholesale ejectments by the fear of bringing a large population upon the poor's-rate of his parish.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, that if this motion had been brought forward as a party contrivance at such a crisis, it would have met merited defeat and disgrace; but not so thinking of this motion, he would support it.

Mr MUNTZ thought there was no ground for saying that government did not use Ireland and England alike; it used them too much alike; it did nothing for either; it was like a bankrupt, afraid to look his own affairs in the face.

Mr FERRAND desired to know whether this was meant by ministers to be a general vote of confidence in them? for if that was intended, he should betray his trust by voting with them; but if it was to be a vote only for Ireland, he would support them. He then commenced an unsparing attack upon government in the following strain.

He ceased to call him (Mr O'Connell) the hon. and learned member, for he had ceased to sit in that house; and, unless the government stirred themselves, he would soon sit as a member in Ireland ["Hear, hear," and ironical cheers from the ministerial side]. To what quarter of the empire could they point and say, "Behold the prosperous legislation of a conservative government?" Let them look to Wales. There was a rebellion there more frightful and more dangerous staring them in the face. ["Hear, hear," and laughter.] Was property safe in Wales? [Cries of "Oh, oh!"] Could a person travel upon the high road in Wales during the night? [Laughter.] Hon. gentlemen who sat on the Treasury benches, and who fed upon the crumbs that fell from the Treasury table [cheers from the opposition benches]—should they control the independent opinion of an independent member? [Hear, hear.] He had never given a party vote since he sat in that house, and he never would do so. Ere they came to the close of this session, he said that legislation, so far as England was concerned, was at an end; but was there no danger staring them in the face? [Hear, hear.] He looked with fear and trembling to the results of this ensuing winter. [Hear, hear.] Ill enough was it for his native country to be bandying party war-cries, but would to God they could exhibit one evening devoted to its service during the whole session. [Hear, hear.] With shame he said it, and they ought to feel that that shame belonged to them—for neither side of the house had done its duty during the session. [Hear, hear.] There would soon come the question before them, whether the people, united in dissatisfaction, were any longer to be treated with neglect in this country? [Hear, hear.] Well might the hon. member for Birmingham say that this was not an Irish question. It was an English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish question [great laughter]; and he agreed with his noble friend who sat beside him, that it was high time for the government to do something for the country. [Hear, hear.] They had done nothing—they were impotent to do good—they were powerless to protect [laughter], and unless the government manfully, in the name of itself through one of its members, stood up in this debate and honestly told him what they meant to do for England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, his vote would be against them. [Cheers from the opposition.] The right hon. baronet had deceived every party in the country. [Loud cries of "Oh, oh!"] He knew the truth was unpalatable in that house [hear, hear], but he knew it was the country that demanded now that every man who wished for a character of honesty and consistency should speak the truth when he stood up. [Hear, hear.] The government had deceived every party. [Hear, hear.] He repeated it, if any hon. member denied what he asserted, let him go and ask his constituents whether it was not true. [Hear, hear.]

Lord PALMERSTON observed, that this was a debate remarkable for what had been said, and for what

had been left unsaid, for the moderation of the speakers on his own side, and for the course taken against ministers by many of their own supporters. What were the views of government he defied any man to infer from their speeches. They were no doubt distracted and paralysed by contrary impulses—not only from their friends out of doors, but even in the cabinet itself. He had said a little while ago that if ministers should resign their places, the country would call upon them to return.

There have, however, lately been strong symptoms within these walls, which lead me to think that my anticipation may not have been altogether well founded [cheers]. I am, therefore, anxious that hon. gentlemen opposite should not be led by any prediction of mine to act upon it, and, if there be that difference in the cabinet which we had been told of, that they should not now trust to that prediction, and resign their offices in the confidence that they would be called back again by the voice of public opinion. This warning I feel bound in honour to give them [laughter and cheering].

He did not think repeal was a question which ministers would have to consider: he rather thought that repeal was a cry conventionally adopted by the people to express their grievances. The only point upon which ministers had held out the chance of a remedy was the law of landlord and tenant; and most happy should he be to co-operate with them on such a subject. On the greatest evil of all, the relative position of the protestants and Roman Catholics, not the slightest alleviation was intimated. The present amount of establishment was capable of being considerably reduced; and as Lord Stanley had been the author of the Church Temporalities bill, there could be no objection by him, or his colleague, Sir J. Graham, to the principle of reduction. In point of justice, perhaps the Catholics could not complain of the Protestant establishment.

But I say that if you will not, if you cannot, if it is not right that you should subvert and destroy the Protestant establishment, raise the Catholic establishment, endow the Catholic priesthood, do as my noble friend (Lord Howick) has recommended, place the episcopacy of the Church on a firm footing, and endow the parish clergy. I have suggested a measure, to which I have heard as yet no objection raised, by which even if the country did not choose to go to any great expense to endow the Catholic clergy, something might be done to provide for them in other ways. Why not pass a measure, with regard to the Roman Catholic Church, authorising an endowment by glebe; why should not the public grant some 3000, or 4000, for the building of glebe houses? Though that would fall very short of an entire remedy for the existing grievance, it would still have the best effect in satisfying the public feelings of the Catholics in Ireland, by improving the condition of their religious instructors [hear, hear].

The amount of the establishment at Maynooth, too, was far below its proper line. Austria, Bavaria, Belgium, Prussia—each made provision from the funds of the state for more than one denomination of clergy. He condemned the scanty allotment of the parliamentary, and the too high amount of the municipal, franchise. Under all these difficulties, here was a government unprepared with any remedy. They were content in office, as out of it, to obstruct. It was the duty of a government to distinguish the difficult from the impossible; and it was impossible for a government to go on long as the present ministers were going on now. The party who supported and upheld them were an inert mass, moored in the tide, and serving only to show how rapidly the current was leaving them behind. To quit that party and retire from office would be far more glorious to high-minded ministers than to persist in their present course. He hoped, at all events, that nothing would be said from the treasury benches to strike the Irish people with despair, and that, before another session, measures would be matured for satisfying the just expectations of that nation.

Lord Stanley declined to adopt the suggestions of Mr Muntz and Mr Ferrand, who had required the government not only to make declarations respecting Ireland, but to point out remedies for all the evils in all the British dominions. He had read this motion as charging the government with insensibility to the grievances of Ireland, and with indisposition to do her justice; but the speech which had introduced it was a speech upon the general state of Ireland, and against past as well as present administrations; so that the precise drift of the motion itself was not now very easy to be defined. Some gentlemen called on the government to exercise the energy of Strafford, others forbade them to take any strong measure at all.

After briefly adverting to the franchise and poor law in Ireland, he came to the established church. No five of the members opposite could agree; but some had said boldly, "Abolish the intrusive church of the minority;" and Lord Palmerston had asked how Lord Stanley could object to the principle of a further reduction in its revenues? Why, it was the very point upon which he had resigned his seat in the Whig cabinet. He admitted that a high-minded man would abandon office rather than sacrifice an important principle; but he did not think it would become such a man to abandon his office and his principle together. What the proposal of equalising the two religions meant, he did not understand.

The noble lord the member for the city of London says he is for an entire equality between the two churches. But though he demands this entire equality, the noble lord did not tell us how it is to be regulated, whether by population, or whether the whole revenue of the church should be equally divided between the Protestant clergy and the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church. My right honourable friend, when he addressed the House, adverted to the question, and the noble lord, after hearing my right honourable friend, and after hearing him state that this principle of equality supposed that the Roman Catholic bishops should sit in the House of Lords—the noble lord said he was prepared to follow out his principle of equality to its legitimate consequences. Is that meant? The noble lord must follow out that principle, and be prepared to set aside the Act of Settlement—be prepared, on his principle of equality, to put an end to all regard for any one religion in preference to another, and the noble lord must follow out his principle to all its practical consequences, when it is once introduced [hear].

Mr MORE O'FERRAL had however declared in this debate that the Roman Catholic clergy would not accept a stipend from the nation, on the terms of permitting any interference with their civil state. The law of landlord and tenant was a difficult subject; and he acknowledged that if the Irish landlords, as a

class, dealt with their tenants otherwise than the landlords of England, a case was made out for the interference of the legislature. To a committee, however, of mere inquiry into the law of landlord and tenant, the government would have made no objection. He should be sorry to have it thought that either this or former governments had neglected the welfare of Ireland. A committee, of which Mr Spring Rice was chairman, had recommended nineteen different measures; eighteen of them had since been actually passed into law; and if the House would continue its confidence he would not despair that, by forbearance from extreme measures and a steadfast perseverance in a careful and vigilant policy, the government would be able to conduct the country through its dangers—

But if, on the contrary, we have so far lost the confidence of this House that gentlemen who give us their votes think it right to increase our difficulties and embarrassments [loud cries of "Hear, hear," from both sides of the House] by hinting dislikes, or more openly stating a want of confidence in us, then I do say that the difficulties of the government become seriously aggravated; and that if these unfavourable views are entertained by any large portion of the members of this House, the sooner it is publicly and openly declared the better [loud cheers]. Without the confidence of this House we cannot conduct the affairs of the country; and it would be better at once to resign, on making the discovery that such is the case. I for one should be prepared to bow to such a decision. As an honest man, I should feel it to be my bounden duty to give my best support to any administration which might be founded, after our fall, in any well-conceived measures, to meet these difficulties. But I do not anticipate any such result; and if, in the midst of these difficulties, we are honoured with the support and confidence of this House and of the country, which first raised us to power, we shall be ready still honestly, firmly, and fearlessly to pursue that course which, in the calm and deliberate judgment, in the united opinion of the cabinet, we have adopted [loud cries of "Hear, hear"].

Mr S. O'BRIEN having replied,

The House divided.

For the committee	164
Against it	243

Majority against it

79

Thursday, July 13.

ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.

On the motion for going into committee on this bill, Lord CLEMENTS, in a long speech, again protested against it.

Mr WALLACE said, that having listened to the debate on Irish grievances, he was satisfied that this measure was not wanted; and would move the postponement of it to that day six months. Meanwhile repeal was gaining ground in the west of Scotland, where there were many Irish.

Mr S. CRAWFORD seconded the amendment. He was no repealer; but from the moment this act should receive the royal assent, he was prepared to say, you must either repeal the union or repeal this act.

Mr OSWALD denied that repeal was gaining ground in Scotland.

Mr V. STUART justified himself against the attacks lately levelled at him by Mr O'Connell for the course which he had taken on the Irish Arms bill, and which he assured the House had been a strictly conscientious one.

The House then divided—

For going into committee	104
Against it	27

Majority for it

77

Some short questions and answers followed; and then the House went into committee. Sharp discussions ensued upon portions of the clauses and two only out of the sixty remaining for discussion were, after eight hours' debate, agreed to; and the committee having upon a division affirmed the 14th clause, the House resumed. The report of the discussion in the *Times*, which is rather descriptive than verbatim, gives the following curious account, from which, despite the spirit in which it was written, may be gathered the uncompromising opposition offered to the bill.

[It may be here observed, that although of course very briefly reported, this dull discussion on Lord Clements's objection respecting the definition of the word "arms" had occupied the attention of the Commons House of Parliament upwards of an hour and a half! During that time almost every topic of the late debate was over and over again repeated by members of the opposition; indeed, no sooner had one hon. gentleman resumed his seat, after going through all the arguments against the government policy, than half a dozen others were on their legs, merely, as it would seem from the general character of their speeches, for the purpose of repetition. In this sort of desultory debate, of course the clause actually before the House was entirely lost sight of.]

Mr HUME, who had risen nearly a dozen times, but had in vain endeavoured to catch the Speaker's eye, protested not against the particular clause under the consideration of the House, but against the bill generally. He declared, in very emphatic language, that no government in Europe, but the English government, would have dared to thrust such a measure down their throats [at which declaration the House was not a little diverted]. The hon. member for Montrose (who had a number of books and papers by his side, and who evidently contemplated inflicting a long speech upon the House) took up a book, and holding it up to the view of the House, exclaimed, "Here is a book containing the penal enactments. I have been reading it, but cannot understand it [loud cries of "Hear, hear"]. My want of comprehension may arise from ignorance" [repeated cries of "Hear, hear"]. The hon. member proceeded to suggest the postponement of the entire bill until the members of the government, and the hon. gentlemen on the opposition side of the House, were agreed as to the proper definition of the word "arms." Did the term "arms" include a blunderbuss, carbine, or a spit [laughter]? Ah, a spit [laughter].

Friday, July 14th.

ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.

The order of the day for resuming the committee on the Arms bill having been put,

Sir ANDREW ARMSTRONG shortly expressed his strong opposition to the measure; after which

Mr SMITH O'BRIEN moved, as an amendment, that all further proceedings on the bill be suspended until the other measures relative to Ireland were taken into consideration. He complained that all other Irish business was suspended for the purpose of forcing on this Arms bill; for instance, the Poor Relief bill, the Pawnbrokers bill, and so forth. He wondered to see the English members consenting to

the stoppage of all English legislation for the same useless purpose.

After a few words from Mr HUME and Mr EWART, Mr WALLACE said he meant to follow the good example of the Irish members, and obstruct two Scotch bills, now pending, by all the means which the forms of the House would allow.

Sir R. PEEL appealed to the cooler discretion of the hon. member himself, whether this would not be an abuse of the privileges of parliament, and a virtual suspension of the business of government? It had not been usual, when a bill had once gone into committee, to interpose fresh motions against its progress from night to night.

Mr M. J. O'CONNELL disclaimed any intention, on the part of the Irish members, to take the extreme course indicated by Mr Wallace; though there might have been a disposition to do so, if ministers, as had been reported to be their intention, had proposed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act in Ireland.

Sir R. PEEL would not refuse precedence to some of the other Irish business, if an understanding were given that the lateness of the session would not then be set up as an impediment to the present bill.

Mr M. J. O'CONNELL answered, that no such pledge could be given.

After a somewhat animated discussion, Mr W. S. O'BRIEN withdrew his amendment.

The House then went into committee; and there, with reference to some difficulties suggested on a former night, respecting the vagueness of the word "arms,"

Lord ELIOT said, that throughout all the years during which the legislature had been in the habit of renewing these bills, no objection of this kind had ever been made in parliament, nor had any such difficulty occurred in practice. He proposed, however, in deference to the feelings of the House, to introduce a declaration that fire arms only should be deemed to be within the meaning of the word "arms," as used in this bill.

Several clauses were then discussed, commencing with the fourteenth, which received several material alterations, and was finally carried by a majority of 24. The various clauses, up to the twenty-fourth, were more or less warmly opposed. Several divisions took place, and alterations introduced; after which, the Chairman reported progress.

Monday, July 17th.

STATE OF BUSINESS.

Mr EWART called the attention of the House to the very numerous bills now in progress through parliament, and to the expediency of at once postponing to a future session such of them as appeared to have no fair chance of passing in the present. He prophesied serious opposition to the Factory bill, even now that it had been weeded of its most obnoxious clauses; to the Poor Law Amendment bill; and to the Ecclesiastical and County Courts bills.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM said the government were not to blame, seeing that the Canada Corn Law bill raised the question of the corn laws some seventeen or eighteen times, and the Irish Arms bill had met with such continued opposition. The Factories bill, in its present shape, was not an essential measure, though he would like to carry it, if he could. He did not intend to bring in an English Poor Law Amendment bill; nor did he think, after the measure of last year, continuing the commission and amending the law, that he was pledged to do so, though there were some amendments he would like to have introduced if he could. They would persevere with the Irish Poor Law Amendment bill; but as to the Ecclesiastical Courts bill and the County Courts bill, they were not prepared to make any announcement, though indisposed to abandon all hope of carrying them.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL hoped that the government would name an early day on which they would state what bills they really intended to proceed with, and what they would abandon. The Scotch Church bill was likely to meet with determined opposition; the Ecclesiastical Courts bill had been so altered, that competent authorities had assured him it would, in its present shape, produce only mischief; the Factories bill, contrary to general expectation and understanding, still contained objectionable educational clauses; and it was not satisfactory to those who took an interest in the English poor law to hear that there was no intention of introducing a measure, in fulfilment of Sir James Graham's pledge that he would do so early this session. The estimates had provoked less discussion than he had ever before known; and as to the want of time and opportunity, the government had no great reason to complain.

Sir ROBERT PEEL admitted that the discussion of the estimates had not taken up much time, but many government days had been given up for the discussion of motions on adjourned debates. There was a growing tendency of late years to adjourn debates; more gentlemen took part in them than formerly; and the government experienced great difficulty in bringing forward their measures. They attached great importance to the Scotch Church bill; but he would take an early opportunity of mentioning what measures would be abandoned, and what proceeded with.

After a few observations from Mr BERNAL, Sir JAMES GRAHAM complained of the "bitterness of feeling" which Lord John Russell's speech indicated, and expressed himself indignant at being charged with a breach of faith with relation to the Factories bill, and the non-fulfilment of his alleged pledge, as to the introduction of an English Poor Law Amendment bill. The Factories bill did not retain any compulsory educational clauses inconsistent with the existing law, or otherwise than giving

due control to the committee of Privy Council on Education.

Mr HUME said that the impression was very general out of doors that all the educational clauses had been withdrawn from the Factories bill. He expressed his regret to see the government in its humbled position, and recommended them to withdraw the Arms bill, in order to obtain time for other measures of greater importance.

After some further discussion, shared in by Mr R. YORKE, Mr DUNCOMBE, Mr WYSE, and Lord CLEMENTS, the subject was dropped.

THE ARMS BILL.—The House then went into committee on this bill. The 24th clause only, which authorised justices to enter houses for unregistered arms, was discussed. An animated discussion ensued, in which Mr Bernal, Lord Eliot, Lord Clements, Mr V. Stuart, the Attorney-general, Mr Ross, and others took part. An amendment was proposed, but rejected by 91 to 46; and, after an announcement from government of a slight modification of the clause, it was passed. Progress was then reported.

DUTIES ON FOREIGN WOOL.

Mr C. WOOD, on the motion for going into a committee of supply, moved the following amendment—“That this House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider so much of the act 5 and 6 Vic., c. 47 (the Customs act) as relates to the duties on the importation of foreign sheep and lambs' wool.”

The speech by which the motion was supported was based exclusively on statistical statements, from which he drew the following inferences:—1. That the woolen trade of this country is in a state of rapid decline, sharing in the general depression, but to a far larger extent than other interests. 2. That this decline is clearly attributable to the effective rivalry of the woolen manufactures of Prussia, Belgium, and France, which are superseding our woollens in foreign markets. 3. That our foreign rivals are enabled to drive us out of our markets, from the simple fact of being able to obtain their raw material cheaper than our manufacturers can. Their skill, machinery, or application of capital to the manufacture cannot compete with ours; but their natural advantages enable them to put us out of markets in which we had formerly a pre-eminence; of these natural advantages we cannot entirely deprive them, but it is gross folly to add to our difficulties by a heavy import duty, which cripples the efforts of our manufacturers, and is rapidly destroying the trade. 4. That the repeal or reduction of the import duty cannot affect our home-grown wools, inasmuch as our short wools require an admixture of foreign wool, in order to render them marketable, while the long wool growers are not averse to a change. 5. That while the present duty is destroying the great woolen trade of England, it is doing so without benefiting the revenue. Mr C. Wood concluded his very able statement by showing that the manufacturers have been led to expect the reduction of the duty for the last fifteen years; and he now urged the fulfilment of repeated promises, by a strong appeal to the government to interpose and save a trade at once so important and extensive, and with which the interests and welfare of a great proportion of our artisans and working manufacturers are involved.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER expressed the embarrassment which he felt, in rising to oppose a reduction of taxation, after the able speech of Mr Charles Wood. But he could not admit that the recent and still continued depression of our woolen manufacture was attributable to the import duty, which was imposed long before these difficulties commenced. Other causes were at work, as the superseding of pure woolen manufactures by mixed fabrics of cotton and wool. But he rested his case mainly on financial considerations. The present duty on foreign wool constituted a portion of the revenue of the country, by which we were enabled to keep up our establishments and maintain our national faith. On settling the new tariff, last year, the whole system of our import duties was under review; and, amongst other claims for exemption, the wool duty was deliberately retained, as being amongst those which it was neither wise nor prudent to reduce or abolish. There had occurred nothing since to show that they could part with it; and therefore he resisted the motion.

Mr WILLIAMS urged the reduction, not only of the duty on sheep's wool, but on cotton wool. It was at all times impolitic to impose a duty on raw material, but peculiarly so at the present time, when our trade was rapidly leaving us, and any other tax would be preferable to continuing a heavy imposition on two important branches of our manufactures.

After a few words from Mr SHEPPARD and Mr G. W. WOOD, Mr BECKET briefly adduced some of the “statistics of suffering” of Leeds, as a proof of the actual condition of the woolen trade.

Sir R. PEEL, though resisting the motion for the present, would not say one word to prejudice the removal of the duty whenever the financial condition of the country will admit of it. It was easy to talk of other taxes in place of such a duty as this, but it was not so easy in practice. Notwithstanding the Income and Property tax, there is still a deficit in the revenue, and the obligation of maintaining the public credit still remained. Though not, therefore, stating permanent grounds of objection, he trusted the House would not, in the present condition of the country, compel them to sacrifice one hundred thousand pounds of revenue.

Mr STUART WORTLEY added a few words in favour of the motion, but recommended its withdrawal.

Mr STANSFIELD also advocated the repeal of the duty. The revenue to be sacrificed was as nothing compared with the interests involved.

On a division, the motion was rejected by 142 to 72.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 14th.

STATE OF IRELAND.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE brought under consideration the subject of the dismissal of those Irish magistrates who have taken part in the repeal agitation, and proposed that it should be censured, as being “unconstitutional, unjust, and inexpedient.” He attempted to prove that the attempt to degrade the question of repeal by this impolitic, unwise, unjust, and absurd proceeding, had been followed by consequences the very reverse of what its foolish promoters anticipated from it. The present state of Ireland he attributed to two causes—the grinding poverty and misery of the people, and the policy of the present government, which had found the country tranquil, and had aided in placing it in its present condition within the short period that has elapsed since their accession to office.

The Duke of WELLINGTON followed, and made a characteristic speech, which was delivered with considerable animation and vigour. Dismissing at once the question of legality, he marched up to his position, which was that the mode in which the repeal agitation is carried on in Ireland is calculated to inspire terror in the peaceful and well-disposed, and to endanger the public peace; and, therefore, to call for the precautions of a government, who are entrusted with the protection of life, individual safety, and property. He admitted that the peace of Ireland was in the hands of one man; and quoted in his blunt unconscious manner the remarks of Mr O'Connell, about his having at his command and control a finer army than Napoleon led into Russia, or the Duke of Wellington had at Waterloo. “Very possibly,” exclaimed his grace; and therefore drew the inference that the government should be prepared for any outbreak, and could not safely leave the commission of the peace in the hands of men who might be called upon to put down what they had aided in bringing about. He admitted the distress that existed in Ireland, and thus adverted to it:—

But, my lords, I must say, grieved as I am that there should be so much truth in the representations of the noble marquis as to the state of the country and the prospects threatened by the existing system of agitation, I must say that no measure could be proposed which, if now adopted, would have the smallest effect in remedying that great evil and its inconveniences. The only remedy which could be adopted for that purpose on the part of the government, is a stern and firm resistance to everything like a breach of the peace and of order, and to be prepared, as I hope we are, to enforce measures for the preservation of the peace in Ireland. I know that there is no remedy but that for the present state of affairs, as whether the peace of that country shall be disturbed or not depends upon the will of one man, through the influence he has acquired over the actions of some thousands of his countrymen. The noble marquis has referred to the extreme poverty of the country, and to the absence of all measures on the part of the government to relieve that poverty. My lords, it is certainly true that there are in Ireland a vast number of poor; I am sorry to see from the returns that there are as many as 2,000,000 of poor in Ireland. But, my lords, it happens unfortunately that in all parts of the empire there are poor; and it would not take long to show that it is not in the power of this House, or of both Houses of Parliament, in the course of a few weeks or months, or I may say years, to relieve the poverty which prevails throughout the country, extending to large portions of the population.

Lord CLANCARTY and Lord FORTESCUE followed—the former complaining that more energetic measures had not been taken to suppress the repeal movement, and deprecating a system of conciliation; the latter stigmatising as injudicious the removal of so many gentlemen from the commission of the peace, when their services were especially necessary, and urging the state of the protestant church, and the defective law of landlord and tenant, as the main grievances of Ireland.

Lord MOUNT EDGEUMBE and Lord GLENGALL concurred generally in the expression of a wish that the agitation had been more efficiently repressed, and stated their own views as to the means by which they hoped that a return to a better state of things might be effected; but Lord Wicklow, although condemning the conduct of Sir E. Sugden, approved the ministerial policy of abstaining from any measures of coercion, and strenuously opposed the motion.

Lord WHARNCLEIFF followed in justification of the Lord Chancellor, and vindicated the apparent inaction of the government.

The Marquis of DOWNSHIRE expressed his satisfaction at this defence of the system of non-interference; but Lord Charleville warmly condemned a forbearance which had tolerated the growth of so formidable a conspiracy.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE spoke at considerable length in support of the resolutions.

Lord BROUGHAM volunteered a speech in defence of the Irish government, in which he spoke with his usual violence of the repealers. Of the Irish church he said—

I need not say that I am anxious to uphold the protestant church in Ireland [cheers]; it is essential that you do so [cheers]; you cannot help protecting it; you cannot avoid keeping it up. However, I cannot, without feeling approaching to dismay, look at the sight which Ireland presents, the unexampled sight which the sects and the church of Ireland present to our view: 6,000,000 of catholics, 2,000,000 of protestants at the very utmost, and one-half of them not belonging to the established church, but to various sects of protestant dissenters. I do not, my lords, grudge the establishment its endowments, and we cannot choose but uphold them to her [cheers]. It might have been otherwise some 150 years ago, but you cannot help it now. Both politically and religiously she must be upheld. But still, my lords, where is there a country in the world—but, above all, where is there a Christian country in the world, in which the vast majority of the inhabitants are utterly and hopelessly left unprotected with spiritual instruction by the state? Look at Austria, or Prussia, or Hanover, in every country any of your lordships can name, the state provides religious instruction for every class of dissenters as well as for the established church. My lords, in those countries the dissenters are only a small minority, yet they are provided for; but in Ireland the church is the small minority, yet not one farthing is provided for the spiritual instruction of the vast majority. That, my lords, is a state of things unprecedented in the whole world. My lords, it is a state of things that cannot last for ever; then why do not the government and the legislature direct their attention to this crying evil, and provide some means for the spiritual instruction of the Roman catholics? Such a step must lead to this consequence—you will take them out of the hands of those who lead them only to mislead—who guide

them only to misguide. We are told that the agitators say such an offer would be spurned; that the very idea of it would be spurned. My lords, a friend of mine, well known to your lordships, had a conversation with a Roman catholic prelate, which I will relate. My noble friend said to that right rev. prelate, “Bishop, we are thinking of making a state provision for the Roman catholic clergy: what do you suppose they will say to it?” The prelate replied, “Every man of them, from the highest to the lowest, will strenuously and by all means give to such a proposal the most decided opposition.” “But,” said my noble friend, “suppose we carry it, what will then be done?” The prelate said, “Then every man, from the highest to the lowest, will instantly and gratefully receive it.” [“Hear, hear,” and laughter].

Lord CAMPBELL followed, and condemned the conduct of government in reference to the dismissal of magistrates. In the course of his speech the following scene took place:—

He must venture to differ from his noble friend with regard to his construction of the relation in which a magistrate stood to the government. The magistrate stood in the position of a judge, and he utterly denied that a judge could be dismissed until he had committed an offence.

Lord BROUGHAM [from the woolsack]—You are wrong—wrong—quite wrong.

Lord CAMPBELL—My noble and learned friend need not interrupt me. You know [addressing Lord Brougham] you're quite out of the house whilst you're there.

Lord BROUGHAM [rising and advancing up the house]—I spoke to my noble and learned friend in kindness. I wanted to prevent him from pursuing a mere's nest—that's all [a laugh]. I tell him he's wrong. It was decided otherwise in O'Halloran's case [here the noble lord retired, and resumed his seat by the side of the Lord Chancellor].

Lord CAMPBELL—Well, now the noble lord's out of the house again, I suppose I may go on. It's curious what a hankering he has after that seat [loud laughter]. He's always wanting to be upon the woolsack [renewed laughter], and I suppose by and by he'll get the government to put him there, and then we shall have him defending them with more zeal than ever [repeated laughter].

The Lord CHANCELLOR, in severe terms, denounced the repealers, declaring Ireland to be on the verge of a rebellion.

After a few words from Lord COTTENHAM, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE replied; and, upon a division, there were 29 for the motion and 91 against it.

Monday, July 17th.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND BENEFICES BILL.—The Earl of Aberdeen moved the third reading of this bill. Lord COTTENHAM moved the omission of certain words, which would change the entire bill from a declaratory into an enacting measure. Lord LINDHURST opposed the amendment, and after a discussion, shared in by the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Campbell, and the Marquis of Breadalbane, who opposed the bill, Lord COTTENHAM's amendment was rejected without a division. Lord COTTENHAM again, on the question that the bill do pass, moved the adjournment of the debate for three months, which also was negatived without a division. The bill was then passed.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

THE weekly meeting of the National Complete Suffrage Union was held at the office, 37, Waterloo street, on Monday; the President in the chair.

Letters were read from—Thomas Beggs, Nottingham; Rev. W. Leask, Chapmanslade; J. E. Wells, Kettering; John Rofe, jun., Lynn; W. Perkins, Manchester; B. D. Moyse, Cambridge; J. Williams, Sunderland; F. Warren, Manchester; S. Snelling, Tonbridge; Thomas Barnett, Colchester; E. Wright, Sudbury; and Henry Vincent, London; being a large increase on the usual amount of weekly correspondence.

The Council were gratified to learn from these letters, that the progress of the movement is becoming every day more apparent, and that a growing disposition is generally manifested in favour of the principles and objects of the Union. Some conversation took place respecting the incidental elections now in course of being or about to be contested, and a correspondence was read regarding the steps which the friends of the suffrage movement ought to take in connexion with them. The secretary was instructed to correspond specially where occasion required, and in all cases to urge upon electors the paramount importance of bringing forward and supporting with all their influence complete suffrage candidates only.

The gratifying fact was communicated to the council, that in one of the dissenting colleges in England, five-sixths of the students had declared themselves in favour of complete suffrage, and expressed their confidence in the movements of the National Complete Suffrage Union.

CITY OF LONDON.—On Thursday evening last, Mr H. Vincent delivered a lecture on complete suffrage, at Aldersgate street chapel, to an overflowing auditory. The chapel was filled soon after the doors were opened, and numbers were unable to obtain admission. W. H. Ashurst, Esq., solicitor, and a common councilman, occupied the chair. Mr Vincent ably expounded the great principles of democracy, and was greeted with reiterated cheering. At the close of his lecture, Mr Richardson said that he would get up a petition to the Lord Mayor, requesting the use of the Guildhall for the delivery of a lecture. We understand that a Complete Suffrage association will immediately be formed for the city, and there is every prospect of its being a flourishing one.

WESTMINSTER.—On Monday evening (for the first time in this important borough), the principles of complete suffrage were brought before the notice of the electors and others, at a crowded meeting held in the theatre of the Western Literary and Scientific institution, Leicester square. The meeting was addressed by Henry Vincent, who in his lecture, with his usual clearness and force, laid bare the mischiefs that flow from our present electoral system; and in a speech of great eloquence, full of sound argument, demonstrated that in complete suffrage alone could be found a remedy for existing political evils, and a security for the future liberties of the nation. The enunciation of these principles was received by the

meeting with deep interest and attention, and met with frequent and hearty applause. After the lecture, a resolution for forming a complete suffrage association was agreed to, and a provisional committee formed for the purpose of carrying out this resolution.

BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK.—A meeting was held on Monday, the 10th instant, for the purpose of forming a complete suffrage association for the above borough; J. M. Webb, Esq., of the Blackfriars road, in the chair. A series of resolutions, embodying the necessary rules for the conduct of the association, was unanimously adopted. A provisional committee, with power to add to their number, was appointed to manage its affairs until a general meeting of members could be convened, to whom the committee would report their proceedings and resign their trust. Messrs Luke Embleton, J. M. Webb, and W. E. Dawes, were respectively appointed president, treasurer, and secretary. From statements made by gentlemen present from the several districts of the borough, it appeared only necessary to put the association into a practically working condition to secure the support of large numbers both of the operative and middle class of the inhabitants, and thus become a very efficient and powerful means for the propagation of complete suffrage principles. Under the auspices of the association, a crowded meeting took place at the Temperance hall, St George's road, on Wednesday last, to hear a lecture by Mr H. Vincent. In the absence of the president, Luke Embleton, Esq. (occasionally by severe indisposition), the chair was occupied by Mr Jenkinson, who, in an appropriate speech, introduced Mr Vincent to the meeting. Mr V. delivered a lecture, which occupied upwards of two hours, in that eloquent style for which he is celebrated; he gave a full development of complete suffrage principles. The lecture was, throughout, received with the greatest enthusiasm. The thanks of the meeting were given to Mr V. and the chairman, the latter of whom, in acknowledging the same, took occasion to announce the formation of the association, which was received with great applause, and that the secretary was in attendance to enroll members. A considerable number came forward to join the association.

TAUNTON.—On Monday evening the Rev. Thomas Spencer, perpetual curate of Hinton Charterhouse, attended at the public hall in this town, for the purpose of delivering an address on the necessity of a full extension of the franchise to secure civil and religious liberty and good government. There was a numerous attendance of the working classes, and on the platform were several of the principal gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood. W. Beadon, Esq., having been voted to the chair by acclamation, made a short but forcible speech in introducing the lecturer, in the course of which he observed on the conduct of some of the dissenters in standing aloof from politics, except when their own rights are threatened, and whom he also charged with gross inconsistency in recognising the principle of "no taxation without representation," in their resolutions on the Factories Education bill, and not adopting it as a national principle. For his part, he thought politics were a branch of religion, for it was the duty of all to exert themselves in promoting the temporal, as well as the spiritual, happiness of their fellow-creatures. The Rev. T. Spencer was received with reiterated applause, and proceeded to address the meeting for upwards of two hours, in a calm and eloquent elucidation of the principles of complete suffrage. Andrew Crosse, Esq., in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr Spencer for his able address, said he did so with pleasure, because he fully coincided in every word that gentleman had uttered [cheers]. And he not only coincided in all that had been said, but it was his opinion—his calm and deliberate opinion—that those six points which had been so very ably, so clearly, and in a true, kind-hearted, and Christian-like spirit delivered—that these six points were what the people had a right to expect, and they should not be satisfied until they had them [loud cheers]. A vote of thanks was then passed to the chairman, and the meeting separated highly gratified with the proceedings of the evening.

BRIDGEWATER.—On Tuesday evening last a very edifying and instructive lecture was delivered in the large room of the Mansion house, on "the self-culture of the working classes, and on their claim to the elective franchise," by the Rev. T. Spencer, of Hinton, near Bath. We understand that the room was crowded.

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE.—It is perhaps not generally known that the practice of taking a show of hands at the nomination of candidates for a seat in parliament was at one time the precise mode by which elections were determined. Such, however is the fact, as appears from the following statute of vii. Henry IV., which provides that henceforth the elections of knights of the counties shall be made in the form following, that is to say,—At the next county to be holden after the delivery of the writ of parliament, proclamation shall be made in the full county of the day and the place of the parliament, and that all they that be there present as well suitors duly summoned for the same cause as others, shall attend to the election of the knights for the parliament, and then in full county shall proceed to the election freely and indifferently.

GOOD ADVICE.—Everything, therefore, indicates the approach of the whigs to power, and every man with eyes open sees they are not one whit more honest or liberal than when they were last driven from office, amidst that feeling of disgust and detestation, which mainly contributed to give the tories a majority which is now unavailing for tory purposes, and so like of which they will never again obtain. Are the whigs to be allowed to walk quietly into

place with their numberless tyrannies fresh in our recollection? Is that despicable juggler, Russell, to be installed leader of the reformers of Britain? Has common sense and common honesty no voice to confront his unfathomed impudence, which, after what he has said and done, can yet enable him to look the nation in the face? Away with the arrogant impostor. Let all who value the sacred and civil rights of mankind mark him as their deadliest enemy; and let the electors, to whom the working millions look for relief from that suffering and wretchedness which the most heartless must deplore, so act as if their vote alone could save thousands from starvation and death. If they would escape the approaching calamity of whig rule, there is just one chance, and here it is:—Attend to the registrations before the twentieth of this month, and when an election comes be honest men, and vote for none who will not advocate the last and only hope of saving the country—complete suffrage.—*Aberdeen Review.*

THE ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

Held in London from the 13 to the 22nd June inclusive, 1843,

To the Christian Professors of every Denomination in America, and in all other Countries where the Influence of Slavery exists.

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN—Under a deep sense of the duties and responsibilities which, as professing Christians, devolve upon us, we affectionately address you on the momentous subject of slavery; to promote the immediate and universal abolition of which we are now assembled in convention.

To attempt to prove, in these days of light and knowledge, that the institution of slavery, with all its foul and evil influences on the oppressor and the oppressed, is a most unjust and cruel outrage on the inalienable rights of humanity, and the sanction of it a flagrant violation of the precepts of the gospel, would be little less than an insult to the understandings and feelings of Christian professors of any country or of any name. If there are, however, among the professed followers of the merciful Redeemer, those whose eyes may be so far blinded, or their consciences so far seared, by interest or ignorance, pride or prejudice, as still to sanction or uphold this unjust and sinful system, we would earnestly intreat them, not only for the sake of the suffering slave, but for their own souls' sake, to abandon at once and for ever a course so hateful in the sight of Him who "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and who hath given his only-begotten Son "a ransom for all," without distinction of colour or of clime. We feel bound thus faithfully to warn all those professors of the Christian name who may hold, or justify the holding, of their fellow men in bondage, in the firm and solemn belief that we shall hereafter be judged, not by the standard which our wilful ignorance or interested prejudice may have induced us to adopt with secret misgivings, but by that righteous standard which our blessed Lord unalterably fixed when he said, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"—a standard upon which the light of truth has now so clearly shone as to leave every Christian professor without the shadow of an excuse for continuing or upholding the mildest system of personal slavery. In those countries, however, where Christianity is professed, but where slavery still exists, there are many who may acknowledge its cruelty and injustice, who would shrink from any active participation in its guilt, and who profess, and we believe sincerely profess, to desire its speedy and entire abolition. To you, our fellow professors of this most important class, upon whom, in America more especially, the question of the safe and speedy, or protracted and dangerous, abolition of slavery greatly rests—we earnestly, yet affectionately, intreat you to remember that, under existing circumstances, silence may be guilt, and inactivity or indifference may be sin. We would therefore beseech you, brethren, prayerfully to consider how far you are faithfully bringing the convictions of your own minds to bear on the sentiments of the community at large upon this great question. It is in vain to expect that slavery will be abolished by the government of any free country until there has been raised against it that force of public opinion which gives the moving principle to legislation, and the executive power to law. And since each member of society, however obscure, assists in forming for good or evil this sum of public opinion, how deeply important is it that every individual of a professedly religious community should use all his influence and his energy to raise the tone of moral and religious feeling around him to at least that Christian standard which he himself acknowledges.

In thus encouraging you to the performance of your duty as members of civil and religious society, permit us to observe that it is one thing silently to retain a sentiment in our own bosom, it is another to declare it boldly and openly to all around us. It is one thing to pass over without observation the erroneous sentiments that may be expressed in our hearing, and it is quite another thing fearlessly yet meekly to counteract such sentiments by the honest expression of our own. It is very easy to stand silent spectators of the earnest efforts of a few devoted men, struggling against fearful difficulties to obtain the end for which we may more secretly profess to be anxious; but it is not so easy, amid the prejudice of a slave-holding nation, zealously to co-operate with their arduous labours on behalf of a poor, despised, and injured people. We are not insensible to the trials of your position, discountenanced as you may be in the performance of your duty by the sneers or ill-will of the majority who surround you; but bearing in mind that it is mainly by the uncompromising performance of your individual duty, that the majority will be reduced; that you each form a link in that chain of influence which is all-powerful to shatter or rivet the fetters of the enslaved; we fervently entreat you to come forth in the meekness, but in the firmness and the boldness, of the Christian character, and, regardless alike of the smiles or the frowns of others, endeavour to do your part towards turning the tide of national feeling in favour of the oppressed and injured slave.

It may be there are those amongst you who, in their anxiety to discountenance what they may conceive to be the injudicious zeal or improper conduct of some who have been very active in the abolition movement, have declined to take any part themselves in this work of justice and humanity. There may be others who go still further, and hesitate not to judge and condemn, on pro-

fessedly religious grounds, those who may feel conscientiously bound to the zealous and public advocacy of this righteous cause. Without attempting to judge in these matters, we will venture respectfully and kindly to express our conviction, that this state of feeling arises as much from pride and prejudice on the one hand, as from indiscretion or impropriety on the other; and that at any rate the weakness or the violence of others can form no valid excuse for our own inactivity in a righteous cause; it ought rather to induce us to throw into every truly good and benevolent work, the protective influence of our own example. Christianity consists not in a mere profession of doctrines; it is an active and benevolent principle, a principle of love to God and man, which should ever prompt us to imitate the example of its blessed Author, whose life was devoted to relieving distress, mitigating human suffering, and bursting the physical as well as the spiritual bonds of poor suffering humanity. Oh, then! may all party feeling, all personal prejudice, all suspicion of motives, be washed away by the spring of love and charity in each individual heart; and may these springs, uniting in one mighty stream of Christian benevolence, sweep from the soil of America, and from every country of the world, the blood-stained spot of slavery. In the cheering belief that the abolition of this nefarious system is pursuing its onward course throughout the world, this Convention would desire to encourage rather than rebuke, to commend rather than condemn; but we dare not conceal from you our painful conviction that in the United States of America more particularly, the progress of emancipation has been greatly retarded and the oppression of the free people of colour greatly aggravated, by the prevalence of that unjustifiable prejudice against colour to which slavery has given birth, and which is as opposed to the law of Christian love, as it is disgraceful to a people who boast of their perfect equality of civil and religious rights. We know how hard it is to withstand the influence of education, and the current of popular feeling; but we would entreat you to struggle against this baneful prejudice, and fervent are our desires that you may seek and obtain that assistance of Divine grace, which alone can subdue the pride of the human heart, and enable us to consider every country as our country, and every man our brother: and especially would we call upon you to extend that care over the education of your children, as will most effectually preserve the rising generation from imbibing prejudices so inimical to social happiness and national prosperity.

In conclusion, dear friends and brethren, fellow professors of the Christian faith, we commend the hapless slave to your Christian sympathy and aid; and oh! if the spirit that has escaped from his toil-worn frame, should meet our own at the judgment-seat of Christ, may we each in that solemn hour, when we shall need the shield of Infinite Mercy for ourselves, feel the cheering assurance that we have done all in our power, to shield from oppression and suffering on earth, our fellow candidates for the mercy of heaven.

(Signed)

THOMAS CLARKSON.

London, June 20, 1843. President of the Convention.

COLONEL THOMPSON ON WAR.—We have pleasure in publishing the following letter from Col. Thompson to Mr John Hills of Sunderland, on the huge plague of war:—

"Blackheath, London, 3rd July, 1843.

"DEAR SIR.—I am bound to answer your letter conscientiously. If you or anybody else, either on your own account or professing to act by the orders of a government, should come to burn my house, destroy my children, and (it may be) cram opium down my throat besides, I should make war upon you instantly, and do my best to organise my neighbours in the way most likely to lead to the common defence. But here, or hereabouts, ends my notion of the lawfulness of war. We might perhaps be divided in opinion, on the extent to which this principle would reach, when it came to be exercised upon a larger scale, by the governor of a nation instead of the father of a family. For example, if I had been a countryman of Washington's at the conclusion of the war, I should have been for doing as Washington did—keeping up the smallest force necessary for protection against what were the probable occasions, with provision for making it the nucleus of a greater if the necessity should arise. In short, I am for dealing with the instruments of war as with those of the surgeon—having the least to do with them we can; but so much as is forced upon us, I should be for having good of its kind.

I view with great interest the proceedings of all peace societies, or others having the same object; because, without hampering myself with the question of whether they and I agree entirely upon a point the attainment of which is at all events at a considerable distance, I have the wit to see that in their general effect they are going along with me on a subject which may be said to be accomplishing every day—the checking and tramping on the spirit of unjust wars to fill the pockets of our aristocracy. And in this view, I honestly believe that I individually exercise a much stronger influence in the position I actually hold, than I should do by coming out as an insister on the doctrine of the indefensibility of military operations under any circumstances. For example, I believe that when standing in the army list as the oldest active lieutenant-colonel in the army but one, I said at a public meeting and multiplied it through the press, that 'if I had a son come home from the army in China, I would put him in quarantine before I let him kiss his sisters,' and when I asked in print, 'if nobody would go round with a close-stool, and collect the badges which, under the pretence of a military order, had been conferred for the dishonouring services the army had been put to in India'—I hit a harder blow against brutalising and disgraceful wars, such as our aristocracy is in the habit of carrying on, than I should have done by breaking out as a universal peace demonstrator, which would have only caused the said aristocracy to say, that years sometimes bring weakness as their company. It is the opposition of a man who does not go to the extreme length, that acts upon them, much more than of one who does. They set down the last, as one of a set of, may be, amiable enthusiasts, who will perhaps produce effects in the next age, or some that follows, but are very unlikely to give any trouble to a war-minister in this. The other they feel to be the man, who without waiting for a new heaven or a new earth, rouses against them the hostility of the old ones, and tells them to their faces that by the existing laws of human society (to say nothing of what may come hereafter) they are felons, and men to be held at arm's length.

"If the jobbers had not contrived to job me out of the



house of Commons, I might by possibility have done something towards deepening the public impression of the disgracefulness of English wars. And I have had constant communications from friends in India (where there are many honest men), written evidently in the hope that I might have recovered the ability to serve their cause.

"As regards the particular circumstances in which your letter has originated, the question seems to be, whether you will oppose a man who is really making exertions which at all events are not common from men of his line and breeding, and who perhaps is acting at increased advantage from the very position from which he speaks—because he does not declare his accordance with you in an extreme theory, which (at the present time at least) is not held by one individual in twenty, he all the while exerting himself in your own direction, in the way which is efficient with the nineteen.

"On looking over your letter again, I will engage to vote against the army estimates as having been applied, or likely to be applied, to unjust and dishonourable purposes. I should like to be asked the question on the hustings.

"I remain, dear sir, yours very truly and sincerely,

"T. PERRONET THOMPSON."

COST OF ROYALTY.—Mr Hume, in the course of his speech in opposition to the grant of a marriage portion to the Princess Augusta of Cambridge from the purse of John Bull, said, in the published report he found the following statement of payments to the Queen and royal family in the year ended January 5, 1843:—

QUEEN'S CIVIL LIST.	
Privy purse	£60,000
Salaries to the household, &c.	131,260
Tradesmen's bills	172,500
Bounty, alms, &c.	13,200
Unappropriated monies	8,040
	£385,000
Duke of Cumberland	21,000
Duke of Sussex	21,000
Duke of Cambridge	27,000
Duchess of Gloucester	16,000
Princess Sophia	16,000
Princess Sophia of Gloucester	7,000
Queen Adelaide	100,000
Duchess of Kent	30,000
Prince Albert	30,000
King Leopold, part of which is returned	50,000
	318,000
	£703,000

N.B. The expense for Windsor, and other royal palaces and parks, was to be added to this sum.

PETITIONS AGAINST THE CORN LAWS.—The following petitions have been presented this session against the corn laws:—

	Petitions.	Signatures.
For repeal of corn laws	1,124	329,199
For ditto, and for free trade	638	237,029
For repeal of both corn and provision laws	2,808	543,962
For repeal of corn laws and sugar duties	4	951
Totals	4,574	1,111,141

The *Times*, in replying to the charge that parliament pays no attention to Irish affairs, affirms that, since the Easter recess only, no less than one hundred and four and three quarters of its columns have been filled with debates on Ireland.

A bill is now before parliament for the recovery of small debts, the preamble of which states "that it is desirable to facilitate the recovery of small debts and demands not exceeding £5, and to lessen the expense thereof." It is proposed that magistrates may grant summonses for any defendant to appear residing in his jurisdiction, as also to compel the attendance of witnesses. Justices are to order the payment of debts by instalments or otherwise, with costs not exceeding 40s. If a claim should not be well founded, or the plaintiff does not appear, the justice is to order the costs to the defendant, and where he does not appear the case may be *ex parte*. In default of payment a warrant of distress to issue. The proceedings before the justices to be final.

SUPPRESSION OF DUELING.—We are rejoiced to find that the late melancholy catastrophe has awakened attention to this subject, and among those classes whose opinions and example will above all others exercise a most powerful influence in the right direction. We subjoin the paragraph from which we gather this intelligence:—"An association has been got up for the extermination of dueling—composed of members influential in the precise classes within which, and for whose benefit, the murderous nuisance was supposed more especially to act. It consists of 326 members; of whom thirty-four are noblemen and their sons, fifteen are baronets, and 16 members of the lower House. What is more important still, the army and navy, hitherto the head-quarters of the conventionalism, furnish a large contingent to this demonstration. In its ranks are thirty admirals and generals, twenty-three colonels and lieutenant-colonels, forty-four captains, and twenty-four lieutenants in the navy; and of the army, seventeen majors and twenty-six captains. The bar furnishes a detachment of twenty-four; and the association denounces the unmeaning modern 'wager of battle' as sinful, irrational, and contrary to the laws of God and man; and pledges itself to discountenance the same by its example and all its influence."—*Athenæum*.

THE CUSTOM-HOUSE AGAIN.—We have learnt that some strange disclosures may be shortly expected relative to certain bill transactions, in which some of the members of the higher departments of the customs have been engaged.—*Times*.

THE BUSINESS OF PARLIAMENT.—There is every prospect of the parliament sitting until late in the ensuing month at least; Mr Roebuck has fixed a notice of motion respecting the recent transactions in Scinde for the 8th of August. It is not, however, likely to come on so early as that day, owing to the great quantity of government business, and of other notices that have priority of it.

THE DISSENSIONS IN THE CABINET.—Rumours are multiplied in various shapes, that Sir Robert Peel means to resign—sometimes that he has resigned. They so abound in liberal clubs, that people begin to heed them as little as boiler-explosions in the United States. At a late hour on Thursday night, the neighbourhood of Belgrave square was vocal with the announcement of the fact by those gentlemen who alternate startling political news with narratives of "shocking murders" and Catnach's ballads. Perhaps they had an eye to pushing the sale of their despatches down the area of Lord John Russell's mansion, among the delighted servants, who already fancy that "we are in." The foundation of the rumour seems generally to be, that, not only do matters go ill out of doors, but Lord Stanley, instead of being so docile as he speaks himself in the house of Commons, is such a remarkably bad boy that Sir Robert Peel can no longer brook his love of turbulence.—*Spectator*.

CONTROVERTED ELECTION.—The Durham Election committee opened their inquiry on Wednesday. The election took place in April (on the 8th and 9th), when 507 votes were polled for Lord Dungannon and 45 for Mr Bright, and Lord Dungannon was returned. There were two petitions against the return, alleging bribery after the election, in pursuance of a previous agreement. No petition was presented within the fourteen days after the election; and on the 8th of May notice was given, that those who had voted for Lord Dungannon, and attended at the Wheat sheaf, a public house, should receive the usual head money. Several witnesses proved that they had received £1 each, having voted for the sitting member, the "usual compliment" to electors in Durham. On behalf of Lord Dungannon, Mr Austin admitted that money had been so paid, but he denied that it had been paid because the recipients voted for the successful candidate. On Friday the committee terminated its labours by passing a resolution that the election of Lord Dungannon was void; that his lordship was by his agents, Messrs Ward and Wilkinson, guilty of bribery, by the payment of a sum of money to a large number of electors, but that his lordship was not himself cognisant of such act. (?)

Postscript.

Wednesday, July 19th, 1843.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—There was no house last night, eighteen members only being present at four o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The only important subject that engaged the attention of their lordships was the Definition of Libel bill, which was considered in committee. On the seventh clause being read, Lord Campbell dwelt upon its importance, and upon the necessity of giving protection to the publication of *bona fide* reports of proceedings in the courts of law and police, and of the two houses of parliament. It could not be denied that it was a great public good to have the debates which took place in the two houses of parliament faithfully reported. It was, therefore, provided by this clause, that no legal proceedings should be maintainable against any party for the publication of a report of any proceedings in courts of law, police offices, or houses of parliament. He wished to insert by way of amendment, the words "for publishing, without actual malice." Lord Brougham considered that there was no necessity for the amendment. He was of the strongest opinion that, in proportion as there should be an absolute privilege within the walls of parliament for saying whatever any member might think proper to say, restrained only by his sense of duty, so in the same proportion was the absolute necessity that there should not be given an unrestrained power to the press to publish everything that was said in parliament. After some further discussion the amendment was rejected by eleven to five. The remaining clauses were then agreed to.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.—The Archbishop of Dublin presented two petitions, signed by more than 300 names, one English only, and the other English and Irish, praying the establishment of a better system of church government. The most reverend prelate stated that among the names to the petitions were those of several dignitaries of the church, of magistrates, and of members of the various liberal professions; and their object was to cure the existing anomalies, and to prevent the dangers of the present system. Lord Brougham was of opinion that no great benefit would result either to church or state in Ireland from any suggestions respecting church government hitherto made: an *imperium in imperio*, with some undefinable boundary, would, in his view, be most injudicious. He admitted, however, that the petitions ought to be duly considered, if only out of respect to the names subscribed to them. One of the petitions was however withdrawn in consequence of an informality.

DURHAM ELECTION.—The address of Mr Bright is, we have reason to believe, already in the hands of the electors; and there is every prospect that that gentleman will replace the advocate of monopoly. The other candidates already in the field, are the Marquis of Blandford (who has just married the daughter of Lord Londonderry), a thorough-going protectionist; and Mr Purvis, the Queen's counsel,

a supporter of ministers, and of the bit-by-bit free trade of Sir Robert Peel.—*Anti-bread-tax Circular*.

The *Gazette* of last night contains ten appointments to the vacant livings in the Scotch church.

REGISTER! REGISTER!—To-morrow, the 20th instant, will be the last day of receiving the registration of votes in the return of members of parliament. We trust that those friends of complete suffrage who have not paid up their poor rates and assessed taxes, due on the 6th of April last, have no time to lose in qualifying themselves as electors, as beyond to-morrow it will be too late.

THE LATE FATAL DUEL.—The adjourned inquest held before Mr Wakley, M.P., and a respectable jury, to inquire into the circumstances connected with the death of Colonel Fawcett, was resumed yesterday. After a protracted investigation, the jury having consulted for an hour and a half, returned the following verdict:—"We find that Alexander Thompson Munro, Duncan Trevor Grant, and William Holland Leckie Daniel Cuddy, are guilty of wilful murder as principals in the first degree; and that George Gulliver is guilty of wilful murder as principal in the second degree, the jury believing that he was present only as medical attendant." The several witnesses examined during the inquest were then bound over in their own recognizances to appear when required; and the coroner issued his warrants for the committal and apprehension of the several parties against whom the verdict was returned.

THE STAFFORDSHIRE STRIKE.—The strike has not at present extended itself. The *Times* correspondent says—"The men, as they have a right to be, discontented as well with the old as the new rate of wages, are for the most part still anxious to obtain what they can in the way of remuneration for their labour. Nothing so far can be better than the spirit hitherto manifested by the work-people; the only wonder is, how comparatively uneducated and uninformed men and families, suffering such extreme privations, can remain peaceable under such circumstances." They are waiting for the result of the deputation's interview with Sir Robert Peel.

KING'S COUNTY REPEAL DEMONSTRATION.—Another great demonstration took place at Tullamore on Sunday, at which the *Times* reporter calculates from 40,000 to 50,000 persons were present. The proceedings were of the usual character, with the exception of Mr O'Connell's speech, which was different from his preceding addresses, being chiefly composed of comments on the late debate in parliament. Speaking of the church, he said

Both sides of the House had admitted that the temporalities of the Irish church could not be continued. And why should they? They originally belonged to the catholic church; a catholic people had given them to that church for the saying of masses for the living and the dead; for invoking the intercession of the saints through the merits of our Redeemer; and for other catholic purposes. A greater wrong, therefore, both to presbyterians and catholics, was never inflicted on a country than transferring those temporalities to the church of the minority—a minority of one in ten of the population, and that wrong every one, blessed be Heaven, was now admitting (hear, hear). The first great benefit of repeal would be the allocation of those funds to the purposes of charity and education. The British parliament already threatened to give them up without repeal (a laugh). He would take as much as they gave him. They owed 30s.; he would take the church temporalities at 2s., give a receipt for so much on account, and then go for the remaining 18s. (cheers and laughter). No one more defended the principle of those temporalities; and how had that concession been gained?

And of his new parliament—

In January next, or, at farthest, in May, he would have a parliament in Ireland, as surely as the rising of the sun, unless the Irish people were untrue to themselves (cheers). The second step towards repeal was coming. A few more of these meetings, and he should be ready to proclaim the meeting of 300 gentry in the city of Dublin (cheers).

About 500 persons attended the dinner, including several Roman catholic bishops and priests.

MR O'CONNELL'S MOVEMENTS.—The Wexford demonstration is to come off next Sunday. On the 23rd a repeal meeting on a large scale is to be held at Tuam. The people of Loughrea have invited Mr O'Connell to a banquet in that town, and on the 30th a great meeting will be held at Castlebar.

EXPULSION OF TENANTRY.—The *Freeman's Journal* states that eighteen families have been turned out of their holdings in the eastern part of the county of Westmeath. That journal mentions the remarkable fact that "the whole of those parties thus thrust out are perfectly solvent, and unexceptionable in every respect." It is added that all the land from which these parties have been ejected has been let to a grazier in Westmeath.

SPAIN.—The correspondent of the *Times*, speaking of the position of the Regent, says—"If his destination be Andalusia, it is probable that he will have left before hearing of the march of General Aspiroz on Madrid, which, abandoned to itself, must have ere now opened its gates to that insurgent chief. But if he were still in Val de Penas when the news reached him, he may have advanced to the relief of the capital, and arrived there on the 13th, with his cavalry and the indefatigable Chasseurs of Luchana, in which case it is not probable that Aspiroz would venture to give him battle. This movement would afford Zurbano and his 14 battalions time to come up from Saragossa, which is at least seven days' march from Madrid, supposing even that he encounter no opposition from Narvaez, who, by the last accounts, was in possession of Calatayud, near which Zurbano must necessarily pass."

Accounts from the Spanish frontiers state that the Basque provinces and Navarre, whose population have hitherto abstained from joining in the movement against Espartero, would shortly make a *pronunciamento* in favour of their *fueros*.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

The supply of English wheat is 1,740 quarters; of foreign 8,950. Very little doing, at Monday's prices.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

- "A Real Voluntary," if a parent, would do well to ask himself whether his child's character is not mainly dependent upon the ideas which in early life the father compels him to receive, and whether the communication by the father of such ideas is not consistent with voluntary Christianity? Pooh! Pooh! We tell him again, we will not be drawn into a discussion on what he is pleased to term "Infant sprinkling."
- "Omega." We received neither his communication nor the newspaper referred to.
- "A. Low," and "Christianus," declined with thanks.
- "G. E." We fear the insertion of his letter would not, just at the present time, promote the purpose at which we know he aims.
- "N. W." must forgive us once more. We should like to have inserted his letter, but really cannot.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1843.

SUMMARY.

THE debate on Mr O'Brien's motion—pre-eminently the debate of the session, did not terminate in a division until Wednesday night. It threw up upon the surface a few things worthy of comment. The most remarkable of these was the tone preserved throughout by the Irish members who took part in the discussion. The calmness, the dignity, the truthfulness, and the practical air which characterised the opening speech of the honourable member for Limerick, were equally displayed by those of his countrymen who followed and supported him. One and all spoke as men conscious of the strength of their cause; deeply interested in its success; anxious to deal with it as a serious reality, rather than as a topic of idle declamation; and far less concerned to annoy a hostile political party than to serve, if possible, their suffering country. At a time of hottest excitement, they succeeded in maintaining an admirable coolness; and, under stronger temptations than ordinary to play the agitator, they brought into action only the higher qualities of statesmen. The present parliament has not exhibited a finer specimen of men in earnest.

The next thing worth noting was the splitting of party caused by the heavy pressure of external events. True, it was but a small chip which fell away—but it was like the handful of earth, the separation of which from the mass to which it once adhered, gives warning of a coming landslip, whose extent none can predict. The speeches of Captain Rous, who was returned for Westminster on avowed tory principles; of Mr Smythe, son of Lord Strangford; and of Lord John Manners, who seems to be forming a new party under the designation of "Young England," displayed a novel feature in recent parliamentary history, and must have told with grievous effect upon the mind of the Premier, whose chief, if not only, merit has hitherto been his power of keeping under drill the party whom he leads in the House of Commons. A few more defections of the same kind will be fatal to Sir Robert Peel. Through them, as through crevices in a floodgate, his moral influence will dribble away, and influence thus lost can never be regained. Defeat would less injure him than desertion.

We come next to the whigs. Their speeches have not wanted ability. That of Lord Howick, measuring it by the standard of party principles, was logical and comprehensive—that of Lord John Russell, vigorous and decided. Mr Macauley was eloquent, as usual, but intensely imbued with the spirit of his political sect—Lord Palmerston, terse, epigrammatic, and slashing. But it is curious to mark how these men have risen with the tide. Up to Easter they were mute; or when they spoke, spoke in the tone of genuine conservatism. Repeal in Ireland assumed a formidable shape—and they hinted about the undue proportions of the protestant establishment. O'Connell was not to be put down by military menace—and they took courage to whisper something touching the necessity of showing a distant sort of respect to the Roman catholic clergy. The repeal rent rose from hundreds to thousands—and they talked of endowments. The force of the movement began to develop itself as more than a match for the present cabinet—and, at last, they come out distinctly for a co-establishment of the two churches. They are evidently preparing themselves to take office, at no distant date, and the "perfect equality" of the two churches in Ireland is to be their *cheval de bataille*.

Lastly, we must glance at the crest-fallen ap-

pearance of the ministerial leaders. Lord Eliot, deprecatory—Mr Smith, the Irish solicitor-general, garrulous—Sir James Graham, cowering—Sir Robert Peel, paltry and spiritless—and the Hotspur of the cabinet, Lord Stanley, singularly subdued in tone. They all spoke like men who could no longer hide from themselves, nor from the world, that the stream of events was drifting them out to sea. They falteringly admitted that the vessel no longer obeyed the helm. They tacitly acknowledged that the government in Ireland was in the hands of O'Connell. They talked of being united—but it was the union of men, who, when at their wit's end, agree to wait and see what will come of the danger which appals them. Sir Robert Peel was little, even beyond the ordinary pitch of bureaucratic littleness. He feebly criticised the various practical suggestions put forward by the opposition, surrounded each with difficulties, and then dismissed them as impossibilities. His was the air and bearing of a woman in the last stage of nervous debility. To every proposal his answer was the same—"Ah! no doubt, a capital thing—but I can't do it. O! if you did but know what I feel, you wouldn't recommend me to take such steps. Why, I can't do it. It may be desirable in itself considered, but I can't do it." What a contrast to the swagger and cock-a-whoop of his first session! For one thing, however, let us give them a word of commendation. They do not mean to repeat the whig Coercion bill—nor, so long as peace is preserved, step beyond the limits of the constitution. In short, their avowed policy is, to stand still, and "do nothing"—keeping watch over the career of agitation, in hopes that, if unopposed, it will run itself out of breath. There is something in this—but suppose it does not, what is to follow? The alternative is anything but a pleasant one for them to contemplate. The division showed, for the motion, 243; against it, 164; majority for ministers, 79.

On Friday night the House of Lords took up the subject which the Commons had just laid down. The Marquis of Clanricarde submitted a motion to the House, to the effect that the dismissal of the magistrates in Ireland, on the ground assigned by the Irish Chancellor, was unconstitutional, unjust, and inexpedient. This opened the way for a discussion upon Irish affairs in general. Singularly enough, the best speech in the debate was that of the Duke of Wellington. Putting his grace's principles out of sight, we should say that the old soldier has produced an abler defence of the policy of the cabinet, and essentially a more eloquent one, than any of his colleagues. His speech had in it one quality which those of the ministers in the Commons were all deficient in—vigour. It was intelligible, straight-forward, and manly. Lord Brougham, who now delights to sit on the woolsack, side by side with Lyndhurst, turned special pleader for the Irish Chancellor, and set up a defence so ingenious that he proved rather his zeal for the party with which he has of late allied himself, than the solidity of the ground on which he based his argument. He was, in company with his noble friend the keeper of the Queen's conscience, driven from the field of constitutional law by Lord Cottenham. The whig lords broached the same sentiments respecting the church establishment in Ireland as their friends had previously done in the lower house, which shows that the programme for the next whig cabinet is ready cut and dried. Twenty-nine noble lords voted with the Marquis of Clanricarde, and ninety-one against him.

The House of Commons, after disposing of Mr O'Brien's motion, proceeded, on Thursday and Friday evenings, with the Arms (Ireland) bill, and made considerable progress in committee. The tone of ministers was completely changed. They seemed to go out of their way to compliment Irish members upon their moderation and good temper, and to take a pleasure, which the novelty of the thing only can explain, in conceding almost every amendment which was proposed. The most vexatious and arbitrary enactments of the measure have, consequently, been so clipped and pared down as to become, if not innocuous, at all events, mildness itself in comparison with what they were when the bill first went into committee. We suppose the bill will now pass into law: but it is observable that on Monday evening the House got through but one additional clause.

Lord Aberdeen's Church of Scotland bill has passed the House of Lords, and will now be exposed to searching opposition in the Commons. Sir Robert Peel stated, in answer to a question put to him by Mr Wallace, that government would use all its power and influence with the house to induce them to recognise the bantling, before the close of the session.

The business in the people's House on Monday night was various. The early part of the evening was devoted to catechising ministers; and, to a new "privilege case." The Poor-law amendment bill, it seems, is to be dropped until next session. The County Courts bill is to share the same fate. The Factories bill, Sir James Graham stated his intention of proceeding with—but when charged by Lord John Russell with having misled dissenters

into a belief of his final abandonment of the educational clauses, the honourable baronet was grievously hurt, and said he would consult his colleagues upon the course he should pursue. In a word, the Irish Arms bill, the Irish Poor-law Amendment bill, and the Scotch Church bill are to be carried—all other legislative measures will probably be dropped for the present.

The latter part of Monday evening was occupied by the debate on Mr Wood's motion relative to the wool trade. The honourable member, in a most able speech, clearly traced the present decline in the woolen trade of this country to the competition, with which it had to contend, of Prussia, Belgium, and France. He showed the advantages which our heavy import duty gave to these growing rivals—that the impost was no protection to our home-grown wools—and that whilst it is destroying the great woolen trade of Great Britain, it is doing so without yielding any adequate benefit to the revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was ready with his old reply. The present duty on wool constituted a portion, however small, of the revenue of the country, by which we were enabled to keep up our establishments, and to maintain our national faith. This unflinching reason was enforced by Sir Robert Peel—and, on a division, the motion was rejected by 142 to 72.

Beyond the walls of parliament, affairs are every week assuming a more serious aspect. Mr O'Connell's last speech at the Dublin Corn Exchange indicates, to our judgment, a little nervous apprehension lest the repeal movement should carry him too far. We judge that he and the Roman catholic priesthood would be but too happy to get for Ireland all that the whig opposition have declared its welfare to require. The do-nothing policy of the tories will impose upon him the hard task of keeping up the excitement on this question by the force of his own inventive genius. This he seems to be fully alive to, and is taking steps accordingly. At the next meeting of the Repeal association he has promised to propose a plan for the referring of all disputes between repealers, to regularly appointed arbitrators for each district. This step, perfectly within the boundaries of law, seems to be the first in a series of movements which will, as Mr O'Connell threatens, without the consent of the imperial parliament, and in spite of their opposition, effect a transference of power from Norman to Celt, and virtually repeal the union itself. The public meeting in Marylebone in support of the Irish people is another sign of the times which forebodes destruction to the ministry.

The fearful depression in the iron trade has reached its crisis, and the consequence is another extensive strike among the Staffordshire miners. The poor men, starved into fury, talk wildly of marching up to London, pike in hand, six a-breast, and letting the people of "the big city" know their wants, and feel their strength. In the mining districts of South Wales distress is almost equally intense. The agriculturists, too, worn down with vexatious imposts, are cherishing a spirit of insubordination. These are new elements added to the cauldron of confusion—the

"Hubble bubble,
Toil and trouble"

with which ministers have to deal. The colliers are organising themselves for a general strike, and according to present indications, government will have enough upon its hands during the coming winter.

Meanwhile the farmers, instructed by anti-corn-law agitation, are everywhere, even in their strongest holds, yielding a victory to the leaguers. If they were but to vote at the hustings, as they now vote at public meetings, free trade principles would be triumphantly established. We shall look with more than ordinary interest for the next county election. We may then judge, with more accuracy than it is possible to do now, whether commercial freedom possesses a sufficient hold upon the minds of farmers, to induce them to look a landlord in the face, and vote against his nominee. Whether such be the issue or not of the present incursions upon the agricultural districts, the seed of sound principles sown by the League leaders cannot be lost. Hereafter, if not immediately, in some form, if not precisely in that which the anti-corn-law men will seek, it will produce fruit to the advantage of the whole nation. And this leads us to notice that the Durham Election committee has unseated Lord Dungannon for bribery—that a new writ for the borough has been issued, and that the return of Mr Bright is confidently spoken of. May the expectations of his best friends be realised!

Of the complete suffrage movement we can report progress with cheerfulness. The lectures of Mr Vincent in the city of London and the metropolitan boroughs have been well attended, and have been followed by enthusiastic applause. Associations are being formed in each, with every prospect of success. We must refer our readers for intelligence to our complete suffrage columns.

The last accounts from Spain represent the cause of Espartero as utterly hopeless.

CLEARING THE DECKS FOR ACTION.

THE spell is broken—the charm is dissolved—the prestige of conservative strength is gone—gone irrecoverably. The government, powerful only in parliament, discovers abject weakness, in all respects, elsewhere. Built upon conventional foundations, it must ere long give way before the rush and the pressure of realities. It is held together by no cementing principle. It is sustained by no indomitable energy of will. Popular affection has not crept round it, to twine about it, as ivy about a pile of ruins, at once the support of interlacing twigs, and the ornament of graceful foliage. It is shored up by a majority alone; and stone after stone of that sole buttress, forced out of its proper position by superincumbent weight, starts from the mass, leaving fissures in the wall less dangerous from their size than from the time and mode of their occurrence. Lurid clouds are beating up against the wind. A storm is brewing. Alas! for that crazy tenement when once it bursts—when from every surrounding height, and adown every water-course and channel, the impetuous floods of public opinion shall leap, and dash, and foam, until, uniting in one tumultuous stream, they sweep round the base of the conservative government. Not long will it stand the shock. It will fall, and notable will be the fall of it.

There can now be scarcely two opinions about the fate of the existing cabinet. Even were it, as Lord Stanley affirms it to be, thoroughly united in policy and plan—even were defection in its supporters to go no further, which is unlikely, than it has already done, it is impossible that it should long stand. The precise interval which may intervene between the present moment and its retirement from office, may be a little more or less extended by unforeseen events; but nothing can now prevent it from going to pieces. Henceforth, it can be regarded in no other light than a makeshift administration. Why? Simply forasmuch as its incompetency stands confessed. It is no longer believed in—it does not believe in itself. It has boasted largely—it has attempted somewhat—it has everywhere and pitifully failed. The works of its own hands jeer it. Failing finances tauntingly point it to unfulfilled promises and disappointed expectations. Stagnant trade gazes in its face, and asks, with dry sarcasm, "Must I look for no further favours?" Foreign relationships make game of its imbecility before its very eyes. France ventures to play insulting antics in its presence—seizes upon Tahiti—sets fire to Spain. Little Portugal makes grimaces at it. Hanover takes it by the nose. Brazil, from afar, wishes to cut its acquaintance. It will not conciliate the manufacturers—it does not please the agriculturists. It pinched the English dissenters, and then had to run away from their rising indignation. It left the Scottish church to fall in twain, and now makes bootless attempts to tie the parts together again by a ridiculous bill. It pricked Ireland into fury—and when Ireland turned round upon it with a more alarming show of strength than it had anticipated, it cried out "Do you let me alone, and I'll let you alone." The British public have watched its course from the commencement. They heard its inflated brag—they see its miserable short-comings. It must soon sneak out of sight, or it will be pushed aside in disgrace. Ineptitude cannot, through any long course of time, compass kingship. For a government to stand it must be strong, in some respect or other—in prescription, in talent, in energy, in dogged pertinacity, in popularity, or in principle.

Previously, however, to the breaking up of the present government, a period of suspense will occur. During that time, whether longer or shorter, the question which should force itself upon the mind and heart of every man friendly to popular rights, should be "What next?" The whigs have, happily, as we think, for the country, chosen ground which isolates them from public opinion in Great Britain. Had they boldly resolved upon the abolition of the established church in Ireland, and upon the appropriation of its revenues to secular purposes, they might have gathered about them a sufficient force to have done battle with conservatism; but since they resolve upon the perpetuation in that kingdom of the principle of a church establishment, merely placing the Roman catholic church upon a footing of perfect equality with it—since it is their avowed design to retain for the aristocracy ecclesiastical patronage, careless of the doctrines for the support of which it is exercised—they have practically incapacitated themselves from taking office with the smallest chance of success. Aristocratic government is coming to a dead-lock. Political factions have so worried each other over their prey, that neither possesses remaining strength enough to hold it fast much longer. The auspicious moment for the people is just upon the point of arrival. Up! and away to your post, every advocate of man's long-withheld rights! Whilst all is at a standstill, that party which pushes on with most earnestness will secure the largest amount of confidence, and gain the greatest number of adherents. Where complete suffrage associations have not as

yet been formed, let steps be instantly taken to form them. Where they already exist, let them redouble their activity. Ply our constituencies with tracts. Rouse them by lectures. Canvass them for their opinions. Look to the registration of voters. Make search for parliamentary candidates. Introduce them, at once, to the notice of electors. Action! action! action! we must have instant and decided action. All surrounding influences favour us. All events beckon us forward. Let the command be given to clear the decks; and like men who mean to win, let us prepare for the coming conflict.

SOOTHING SYRUP.

MODERN statesmanship may be, not inaptly, described as the science of keeping a people quiet under oppression. It is not so defined in books of constitutional law, we admit—but it is taken for granted by most of our parliamentary orators, and is practically exemplified by every government of every party. In formal political disquisitions we learn that government is instituted for the protection of the weak against the strong; from senatorial speeches, that it is a contrivance for depriving the weak of all power to make the strong uneasy. To give to honest industry fair play—to shield the poor, and, therefore, in many senses, the helpless from the tyranny of the wealthy and the proud—to constitute an irresistible might which any, the feeblest, members of society may call in to aid them in resisting aggressions upon their rights, and in apprehending and punishing banded trespassers upon individual quietude—this we had thought to be the proper object of civil rule, and to devise means for its accomplishment, the sole business of the legislature. This may be called "book politics." Certainly, we see it nowhere exemplified. But we do see, on every hand, men reputed as sagacious statesmen, the drift of whose counsels go not beyond this—"Awe the people—if not to be awed, cajole them—if not to be cajoled, silence them—if not to be otherwise silenced, bemute their organs of expression."

A new illustration of this theory of civil government has been obtruded upon the country in the recent debate upon Mr O'Brien's motion. Ireland is admitted on all hands to be in a condition fearful in the extreme. Universal discontent treads close upon the heels of universal distress. Millions are reduced to beggary. Want, exasperated by political insult, has driven the whole nation to the verge of madness. The power of the landed few, abused without mercy, has dispossessed of every resource the suffering and patient many. Injustice, in this, as in all similar instances, has become the parent of resistance; and resistance, confining itself within the limits of peace and law, has grown up to a strength which makes our civil rulers tremble on their seats of authority. What remedy is proposed? The Tories have proclaimed their policy. It is to do nothing. The Whigs and radicals have also proclaimed theirs—What is it? Let us hear it from their own lips. And first for Mr Macaulay, whose name, says the *Morning Chronicle*, will ensure for his sentiments the marked attention of the public:—

"Is not the whole evil of the voluntary system to be found in the present state of religion in Ireland? Does not Hume tell us, in a passage quoted on a former evening by the honourable member for Bath, that it is of the highest importance to the state to connect itself with the priesthood, who teach the great mass of the people, which priesthood might otherwise exercise an influence dangerous to the civil power? Can anybody deny that the evil of a want of connexion exists in the highest degree in Ireland [hear]? If, then, your protestant church in Ireland possesses also all the evils of the voluntary system, is it not something strange and startling to be told that it is an institution sacred and inviolable. . . . I do not, like the member for Mallow, who so ably addressed the House this evening, wish for the predominance of the Roman catholic religion; but I do wish to see the protestant and the Roman catholic religions equal in dignity and honour, and that to neither should any ascendancy be given [cheers]."

What says Mr Roebuck, the honourable member for Bath, and *quasi* democrat? We must give our readers the very words of this comprehensive statesman:—

"Let the state pay the priesthood, and they might depend upon it in a very few years Ireland would be no longer the Ireland she now was. If they would have a quiet, peaceful population, pay the priesthood, and make them small holders of land, and thereby make them interested in the quietude and welfare of the country. They might have peace if they made the priest's interest peaceful; they were now almost in a state of war, because he was goaded by the sight opposed to his eyes every day, nay, every hour, of a dominant church of which his people were constantly complaining."

The historian whose opinion these pseudo-liberal politicians quote with such approbation was a Tory and an infidel—careless of the rights of man, heedless of the claims of God. The opinion, brought so prominently under notice, will be found upon examination to be little else than a mixture, in about equal parts, of despotism and infidelity.

It is instinct with the worst spirit of despotism. The major proportion of the population in Ireland have been driven by sheer misgovernment into poverty the most abject. Four millions of people, it has been coarsely said, "rejoice on potatoes."

The whigs propose for their relief the endowment of the Roman catholic clergy. How will this operate? Will it feed the people? Not at all. Will it raise the standard of their diet? This is not pretended. Will it find employment for them? No! Will it open new sluices for the influx of trade and commerce? Nothing like it. Will it make the priesthood more assiduous in ministering spiritual knowledge, more apt to sympathise with the friendless, more zealous for the diffusion of the blessings of a sound education, more vigilant of the morals of the flocks respectively committed to their charge? No man who values reputation for sense would hazard an affirmative reply. What then will it do? It will serve to detach the priests from the people. The endowments given to them by the state, in other words, by the misgoverning few, will make it their worldly interest to quiet the people, the misgoverned many. They who are now identified with the suffering party, and whose education, influence, and power of combination give importance to the discontent of that party, will then be associated with the oppressing party, and bring all their advantages to bear, not in giving voice to hapless misery, but in stifling it. Every village which has now, owing to what Mr Macaulay calls "the evil of the voluntary system," a natural guardian of its rights, would have, in his place, a paid advocate of "things as they are;" and the only protector to whom the Irish peasant can look up with confidence, would be interested in justifying the worst deeds of tyranny.

The practical infidelity of this proposition is on a par with its despotism. It is not wonderful that it should so strongly commend itself to the mind of Hume, whose malignant hate of Christianity was more characteristic than his torism; but that it should find favour in the eyes of men who assume to be legislators for the church of Christ is somewhat marvellous. What! Do these statesmen imagine that God's revelation was given to mankind for no higher purpose than to be passed through the alembic of self-complacent politicians, and administered by a selfish aristocracy, as an opiate to quiet the oppressed, and to render injustice not merely practicable but easy? Is it the business of Christianity to aid the designs of the strong against the weak? And were her ministers intended to subserve no more important ends, than to lull subjects into sleep, that Philistine lords may shear off the tresses of their power, and then "make them to grind in the prison house of their sinister designs and practices upon them?" The direst foe to the spiritual interests of man could not have devised a more insidious scheme to bring all religion into contempt, and to fasten upon it the suspicion of being the invention of knaves for the purpose of deluding, and then enthraling, fools.

The *Morning Chronicle* commends this project as a singularly wise one. The *Standard* gives to it a modified assent. We call it nothing more nor less than undiluted torism, passing under the name of liberal statesmanship. This is not the way to cure the deep-rooted maladies of exhausted Ireland. It is as arrant quackery as are the prescriptions of Sir Robert Peel. It is rubbing the gums of a nation in anguish, with soothing syrup, to still its cries.

The King and Queen of the Belgians left Buckingham palace on Wednesday morning last for Woolwich, and embarked in the dockyard, on their return to Belgium.

THE KING OF HANOVER AND "THE DUKE."—A curious rumour is current of a misunderstanding between the Duke of Wellington and the King of Hanover. The foundation on which it rests is the apparently studied avoidance of each other's company by both these "illustrious" personages.

A deputation from the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, composed of George Stacey, John Beaumont, J. H. Hinton, John Scoble, Josiah Conder, Robert Forster, and Lewis Tappan, waited on Lord Aberdeen on Wednesday at the Foreign office, to present a memorial and resolutions passed by the late General Anti-slavery Convention on Texas.

THE COURSE OF THE CURRENT.—From what I know of the general feeling in Ireland, and from the fact that the repealers will, in consequence of the "do-nothing" system in all probability absorb nearly the whole people of that country, I give my opinion confidently, that O'Connell will be able to so organise his people as to lead to the total cessation of rent-paying there. This move, if made, and, I fear it will be, must necessarily bring about a collision, the end of which, in the present condition of our relations, particularly those with America and France, no man can safely predict. I am of opinion that if there were a change of ministry now, before Mr O'Connell is forced, as circumstances will inevitably force him, to take a further step in the progress of his agitation, that he would willingly accept terms from a whig ministry that would treat Ireland with all she wants, "justice," in order to disentangle himself from what threatens to prove an awkward, if not dangerous position. But as long as the present men continue to rule our fates, so long will Irish agitation thrive and prosper. It becomes, then, a serious consideration for Englishmen to say, is it worth while to have a civil war and the engenderment of evil passions and bad blood for another century, in order to maintain Peel and Stanley in office.—*Correspondent of Hants Independent.*

General Notes.

FOREIGN.

SPAIN.

The accounts from Spain received up to Monday contained nothing decisive, and may be summed up in the humorous description given by the correspondent of the *Examiner*—

"The Spaniards continue as interesting and inexplicable as they were last week. The civilians have withdrawn to the back of the stage, the military and their leaders have stepped to the front, and have each and all pronounced with such a world of fierce gesticulations, that the least to have been expected was that these heroes would eat each other up. It turns out quite the contrary; for, during the last week, accounts have invariably represented the generals as running away from each other, and keeping all as much apart in different parts of the kingdom as the extent of that kingdom would allow. Zurbano and Seoane marched against Prim and Castro, and then ran away from the same. Prim and Castro have gone after Zurbano and Seoane, making as little haste as possible. There has not been a shot fired nor a life periled; but each party have concocted bulletins a mile long, without one word of truth on either side. If a future Niebuhr has ever to look in these bulletins for materials of history, he can prove to the satisfaction of posterity that no such persons as Seoane, or Zurbano, or Castro, or Prim, ever existed. The German would prove that they constituted but a myth, and nothing more."

Intelligence was received on Monday that the Regent had left Albacete and Chinchilla, on his way to Madrid. The side movement of the Spanish Regent to Balazote is considered as a retreat to Andalusia, although it is possible to march on Madrid by that road. Three armies, according to the *Débats*, approach the capital—the troops from Burgos under Urbino, those of Narvaez, besides from eight to ten battalions led by General Aspiroz, from Valladolid. The latter is the most formidable, as also the nearest, advancing by the Guadarama.

This stationing of troops and making use of the towns on the road to Cadiz, shows that the Regent is retreating thither. Lopez is proceeding to Barcelona. An intercepted despatch of the Regent published by the Barcelona journals, announced his intention of retrograding from Albacete to Ocana, but thick coming events made him prefer the route by Balazote.

"The march of the Regent on Balazote, in whatever point of view one looks at it, is," says the *Journal des Débats*, "a movement of retreat. At Albacete Espartero threatened the insurrection of Valencia, occupied the great road of Madrid, and could have combined his operations with the greatest army commanded by any of his lieutenants (that of Aragon and Catalonia). In marching on Balazote the Regent seems to finally abandon all the advantages of that position. He retires before the insurrection of Valencia; he abandons the great road of Madrid, and loses his communications with Seoane and Zurbano. At the moment when we write, this movement of the Regent, however, is but of secondary interest. It is at Madrid that the crisis will be decided. The capital has for its defence outside only the small column of General Iriarte, which manœuvres in the province of Cuenca, and a detachment of cavalry of the regiment of Lusitania and four companies of the national guard who lately left Madrid to reduce Alcala and Guadalupe. This situation renders the movement of Espartero inexplicable on quitting the grand route of Madrid. It is certain that if he would march to the relief of the capital, he would find much more difficulties to contend with by Balazote than he would have had by Albacete."

Great precautions were adopted for the safety of the Queen. The posts at the Palace were doubled, the guards at the gates of the city were reinforced, and it was believed that martial law would be proclaimed on the following day.

It was believed by some the Regent will carry off the Queen to Cadiz, and make that place the seat of government. This, however, seems very improbable. Espartero is censured by all parties, and is considered not only lost as a regent, but as an officer and a man of common sense and resolution, in consequence of his indecisive measures.

A further extraordinary express from Paris to the following effect, announces the contest as virtually decided:—

"Paris, Sunday evening, 9 o'clock.

"The *Messenger* and *Moniteur Parisien* (semi-official journals) have published the following despatches:—

"The *Madrid Gazette* of the 10th instant declares that it is false that the government had an intention to carry off the Queen and the Infanta (Princess). The same official journal of the 11th declares formally that her Majesty and her sister will not leave the capital.

"On the 11th Madrid was declared in a state of war. The *generale* was beaten; the national guards were under arms; the troops of General Aspiroz occupied Galapagar, el Pardo, and the environs.

"General Van Halen was on the 7th at Carmona. Seville had not opened its gates to him. He directed his march on Alcala, on the road to Cadiz.

"The Regent was on the 10th at Val de Penas.

"Colonel Prim left Fraga for Mequinenza on the 12th, with 5,000 infantry and 200 horse.

"On the 13th Zurbano quitted Saragossa at the head of 14 battalions."

According to all appearance (says the *Times* correspondent,) the insurgents will have entered the capital. We may therefore be said to have commenced the last epoch of this extraordinary revolt, for henceforward the matter will or ought to be out of the hands of the actual revolvers. Here in Paris it is not believed that Espartero or his faithful adherents, Zurbano and Van Halen, can achieve anything that can prevent the full success of the insurrection.

FRANCE.

The French chambers have concluded the business of the session, though not virtually dissolved, so that the journals now devote their attention equally between France and Ireland.

On Friday (says the *Courrier Francais*) was the fifty-fourth anniversary of the taking of the Bastille; since when France has had eleven different governments. The column of July received on that day many individual visits, and a number of young men of the schools (students) repaired to the Place de la Bastille, to salute the monument erected on the site of the old feudal fortress. Everything passed off quietly. The police had adopted unusual precautions, but they were unnecessary. The *National* states, that on that day a banquet took place, "in compliance with the wish manifested by the republicans of the United States, in favour of Ireland." "This democratic re-union," says the *National*, "consisted of 100 persons, among whom were deputies of the *extreme gauche*, members of the institute, literary men, electors of Paris, commanders and officers of the national guard, and a deputation of the 'patriots of Orleans and Rouen.' M. Ledru Rollin (a deputy) opened a subscription for the 'central fund of the repeal,' and, at the pressing invitation of the assembly, promised to proceed forthwith to Ireland, to visit the directing committee of the association, and be the bearer of the feeble relief, to be forwarded to them as a testimony of the lively interest we take in the cause of all oppressed nationalities; and, finally, to assure the Irish people, that should the struggle, hitherto pacific, ever become violent, France would no more be deficient to Ireland than she was, half a century ago, to the noble and courageous efforts of the American republic, when the American people rose against its oppressor to conquer a glorious independence."

The intelligence from Algiers, brought by the *Sémaphore de Marseilles*, comes down to the 5th inst. It appears that Abd-el-Kader was surprised, on the 22nd, by the column of Mascara, under the orders of Colonel Gery, and that, but for the war-cry set up by the Arabian auxiliaries, the Emir would have fallen into the hands of the French. The rout was general among his followers; 300 of his regulars were killed, 150 made prisoners, and 500 camels, 180 horses, and 100 mules, were captured. The Emir's favourite black horse was killed. The division of General Lamoriciere was encamped, on the 25th, on the banks of the Oued Riou, having operated a junction with the column of General Bugeaud on the 22nd.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

EMIGRATION.—The New Zealand company, it appears, have entered into arrangements for founding another settlement upon their lands, to be composed chiefly of Scotch emigrants, and to be named New Edinburgh. It is proposed that the expedition shall start in October, and a block of 120,550 acres is to be selected, the best that may be available at the time the company's survey may have been completed. The plan is understood to have been well matured, and to find decided favour in Scotland, and there will be ample provision made for the emigration of labourers for roads and improvements, schools and presbyterian places of worship.

News have been received of the Antarctic expedition. Her Majesty's ships *Erebus*, commanded by J. C. Ross, and *Terror*, commanded by F. M. Crozier, arrived in Simon's bay, Cape of Good Hope, on the 13th April, from the Antarctic regions, having attained the latitude of 78. 10. S.

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.—Under the head of "Colonial Intelligence" will be found some interesting notices of the working of the late government measures relating to emigration from India to Mauritius, and from Africa to the West Indies. In the former case there appears to be no lack of labourers, though we have reason to fear they have not all been obtained in a fair and honourable manner. Our friends at Calcutta will, however, we trust, keep a sharp look out. One painful fact is apparent, from the tabular statement given, that there is nothing like an approach to equalization of the sexes in the emigrants shipped for Mauritius, the proportion showing 8 males to 1 female! This ought not to be allowed. It is subversive of all morality, and cannot fail to operate most injuriously on the indigenous population, as well as the immigrants. In the latter case, it appears that the vessels sent to Sierra Leone, under the command of lieutenants in the navy, have not been able to obtain a supply of emigrants, with the exception of a cargo of boys, the number not given, for Jamaica; thirty-two lads for British Guiana; and thirty-six, of the same class, for Trinidad. There does not appear to have been any girls shipped on board these vessels, and most, if not all the boys have been taken from school. The adult population refuse to emigrate. This speaks volumes. We believe this expensive scheme of recruiting the West Indies with labourers must be abandoned.—*Anti-slavery Reporter*.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—Cape Town papers to the 7th May announce the annexation of Natal to the British empire. Sir George Napier had read a minute to the legislative council, stating that a special commissioner would be despatched to Natal to make an arrangement with the Anglo-Dutch emigrants, in order to take them under the protection of the British crown, and erect the district into a British colony. It was reserved for further consideration, whether or not the government should be distinct from that of the old colony. Meanwhile, the commissioner is to recognise the amnesty granted by Lieutenant-colonel Cloete, and is to make it his first duty to inquire into and report upon land claims, with a view to the adjustment of grants; future grants or sales of land in the district being prohibited till the will of the Crown be known. There is to be equality for all, without distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed; aggression on the natives is forbidden; and slavery in every shape is declared

absolutely unlawful. Mr H. Cloete, a member of the legislative assembly, had been appointed special commissioner.

PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH COAL TRADE.—The importance of the French coal trade, as a rival to our own, is shown by the following extract from a letter from an extensive coal merchant at Charente, which has been received within these few days by a house in Newcastle:—

"The French coals from the Grand Combe, near Blois (department of Gard), were tendered for the contract for all the ports of Algeria considerably under our price; and I foresee the time that those French coals will beat the English out of the Mediterranean. Toulon and Marseilles already receive a great deal of those coals; and I fear that the coal pits already in progress, and about opening, in La Vendée, will before long be against our importations here, particularly for smith and gas coals. There are fine kinds of coals about St Laurs and Femaran, in La Vendée; and when they have canals and good roads for the conveyance of those coals, I fear they will play the deuce with our importations. The period is not distant when the competition will become great. Low prices, moderate freights, and the abolition of the export duty on your side, can alone maintain the advantage for the English article."

OTAHEITE.—By advices from the South Seas to February 17, we learn that the French were much disliked by the Queen and her subjects, who often expressed the hatred which they felt towards the new comers, and more especially on account of the manner in which they had obtained possession of the island. Queen Pomare had signified to the French commandant that she would never acknowledge them as her ruler, and that if they persisted in retaining possession of her island she would leave it, and take up her residence with one of her relatives who govern some of the neighbouring isles. On the arrival of her Majesty's ship *Talbot*, Sir Thomas Thomson, in January, the Queen claimed his protection, which he offered her, and an affair was likely to have arisen between Sir Thomas and the French commander. The French have forced the Tahitians to place their flag as a union in the uppermost corner of theirs—and which they oblige the Queen to have hoisted every day on her fort; but on the arrival of the *Talbot* she refused doing so, when the French commander declared if she persisted in her intention, he would fire on the town; whereon, Sir Thomas Thomson informed his rival that, if he fired on the town, he would at once open a fire on his ship. Each vessel prepared for action—the Queen still persisted in not hoisting the flag; and at last the matter was ended by the French commander being obliged to send some of his men to carry out his wish. Sir Thomas Thomson sailed in the *Talbot* (all well) to receive instructions from his admiral respecting the course he should pursue, and what answer he should return to the Queen, who sought British protection.

EPISODE IN THE SPANISH INSURRECTION.—The horrible attempt on the life of Zurbano (one of Espartero's generals) has filled every honest man with indignation. The criminal is an Italian, named Luis Pacherothi, well known as a lieutenant of a free corps during the late civil war, and subsequently as one of the editors of the *Archivo Militar*. Three species of poison were found on him, and on his servant (who has also shared his fate—that of being shot in the back as a traitor); one was prussic acid, another corrosive sublimate, the third has not yet been analysed. The intended crime was, it appears, spoken of publicly in Cervera (with the usual *sang froid* and carelessness which characterise the progress of all Spanish plots and treasons of the present age) as "an affair to come off at Lerida to-morrow, the 3rd inst." Fortunately, the wife of an officer of the regiment of the Infante, on her way from Barcelona to join her husband at Zurbano's head-quarters, heard "the news" in passing through Cervera, and mentioned it on her arrival as "a rumour of the road." Her husband immediately informed Zurbano of the subject of the conversation at Cervera, and the general stood on his guard accordingly. He had not long to wait for the development of the plot. That very morning, as he was mixing his sugar and water, he was called in haste out of the apartment to attend to some military business, leaving Pacherothi there, who had recently made himself useful to the general, having raised a free corps in Balls, in Catalonia, where he for some time prevented a *pronunciamiento* taking place, subsequently bringing these to his aid in the assault upon Reuss, and finally pretending that he had received tempting offers from Zurbano's enemies to shoot him. He had by such a course, obtained Zurbano's confidence, who at length freely admitted him to his house; and thus matters stood at the moment of the mixture of the general's *eau sucrée*. On Zurbano's return he remarked a strange agitation in the manner of the Italian, which increased as Zurbano took up his glass. He could not keep his eyes off the draught and the drinker; but Zurbano was not going to drink it. He is a man whose eye nothing escapes. He saw that the water was turbid, and the Italian powerfully excited. He took his keen eyes from the glass, and fixed them on those of Pacherothi. There needed no more, and Zurbano called to a sentinel at the door to enter and seize the confused and self-detected criminal. When he found his enterprise baffled, the proofs of his guilt seized in the possession of himself and servant, who also confessed his share in the crime, he resumed his usual cool determined mien, confessed all, and marched to death with a courage worthy of a better cause. At the place of execution, when the act of military condemnation was read, and the guilty act specified—"for the guilty attempt to poison the General Zurbano," the Italian added, "and the other also" (meaning Seoane), then threw away the chair which they gave him to sit upon, and received the fire of the platoon in his back standing firmly!

PRUSSIA.—The King of Prussia has issued an ordonnance respecting the censorship of the public

press, of which the following are the principal clauses:—1. It is forbidden to reproduce the whole or parts of prohibited works or articles in which the censors have discovered proofs of piracy. 2. The reports of the debates of the assemblies of the German states are not to be published, unless they have previously appeared in an official form, authorised by these assemblies. 3. The same principle is applied to the proceedings of the provincial diets.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

JUSTICE TO IRELAND.—MEETING AT MARYLEBONE.—On Monday morning, a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of the borough of Marylebone took place at Hall's riding school, on the subject of Ireland. About 3,000 persons were present. On the platform were Sir B. Hall, Sir C. Napier (the members for the borough), General Sir De Lacy Evans, Feargus O'Connor, Robert Owen, Mr Stockton (foreman of the Calthorpe jury), Mr Shafto Adair (late candidate for East Suffolk), Mr Sharman Crawford, Major Revell, Mr T. Duncombe, M.P., Mr Hume, M.P., Mr Williams, M.P. for Coventry, and various influential electors of the borough. Sir Benjamin Hall was called to the chair, and opened the proceedings in a spirited speech. Sir De Lacy Evans, in a speech of some length, proposed the first resolution to this effect—

"That this meeting view with the deepest sorrow and the most serious alarm, the present excited state of public feeling in Ireland, and regard with pain and indignation the present policy of her Majesty's ministers, in reference to that country, as indicated in the stringent and obnoxious provisions of the Arms bill, now before parliament, and the unconstitutional dismissal of magistrates from their office, and the absence of all adequate plans for the just and equitable rule of the Irish people."

This was seconded by Mr Daniel, and supported by Mr Feargus O'Connor in a moderate address. Mr Ridley, amidst much confusion, then came forward and moved the following amendment:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the conduct pursued by the late and present governments towards Ireland was unjust and tyrannical; and that Irishmen had an undoubted right to take such measures as they might deem best to secure a repeal of the union."

Mr T. S. Duncombe, M.P., in answer to the repeated calls for him, came forward, and was received with the most enthusiastic applause, which having subsided, he spoke as follows:—

He said that the resolution and the amendment were both of them so correct that he had no choice between them [cheers]. Had this been a mere whig meeting, they would not have found him (Mr Duncombe) there in support of that old, and, happily, that defunct policy [cheers]. He thought that union on such a question was every thing, and that under such circumstances it would be better to amalgamate both the resolution and the amendment [loud and general cheering]. The latter merely called upon them to express their opinion as to whether they thought the Irish people had a right to demand repeal [hear]. It was his (Mr Duncombe's) opinion that they had the right to demand the repeal of an act which was adopted in fraud, and executed in iniquity [great cheering]. But he would ask, were the people of England prepared to go to war with Ireland in order to support the injustice of centuries? [no, no.] Were they prepared to go to war in support of an administration which was the laughing-stock of Ireland and the contempt of England? [renewed cries of "no, no"]; or were they prepared to go to war in support of that odious impost on the Irish people, an Irish state church? [tremendous cries of "no, no"]. No, he would say they were not [cheers and "no"]; and he would tell them more. The very first shot this despotic government fired—the very first salvo stained with Irish blood—would be a signal which would not allow the horrors of civil war to be confined to Ireland [enthusiastic cheering for several minutes]. The people of this country had a long account to settle with former governments, and would not only join in this unholy crusade against the people of Ireland, but would rather join hands with them and secure the remedy of mutual wrongs and mutual grievances.

After a speech from Mr Haynes, Sir Benjamin Hall announced that the amendment had been incorporated with the original resolution; and the announcement was received with the loudest acclamations, the waving of hats and handkerchiefs for several minutes; and on the question being put, every hand in the building appeared to be raised in its favour, accompanied with renewed and repeated marks of approbation. Several other resolutions were proposed and spoken to by Sir C. Napier, Mr Barker, Mr Savage, Mr Smart, Mr S. Crawford (whose speech elicited enthusiastic cheers), and other gentlemen, which were all carried. The meeting then separated.

COMMON COUNCIL.—At a court held on Thursday, Mr Deputy Peacock, amid cheers and laughter, gave notice of an address to the Queen, praying that measures might be taken to tranquillise Ireland. The Queen's answer to the congratulatory address of the corporation was reported, and ordered to be entered on the journals of the court. Mr R. L. Jones moved the adoption of the report recommending alterations in the method of remunerating the city chamberlain, virtually fixing his salary at £2,500. Mr Harrison moved an amendment, appropriating any surplus that might accrue to relieving the charges of management of the public funds in the chamber. The discussion was adjourned.

In the Consistory court, on Tuesday, Viscountess Frankfort de Montmorency obtained a divorce from the Viscount, on the score of adultery; the suit being unopposed. The court allotted £800 alimony and £550 *pendente lite* (out of £2,500 joint income).

THE LATE FATAL DUEL.—Mr Wakley and the jury again assembled on Thursday morning at the Camden Arms, pursuant to adjournment. Mr Gulliver, with his counsel and solicitor, was in attendance, as were also Mr Blake, and many other gentlemen interested in the result of the inquiry into the melancholy affair. The coroner and jury remained in deliberation with closed doors for more than half an hour, during which time Mr Gulliver and his professional advisers were called in; and, after a short consultation with the legal gentlemen, Mr Wakley resolved to further adjourn the inquest until Tuesday (yesterday) morning.

THE CARTOONS IN WESTMINSTER HALL.—The exhibition of Cartoons was opened to the public on Monday, gratis. The receipts for the short interval during which the drawings have been exhibited at a charge of 1s. (only twelve days), have far exceeded the sum originally anticipated. The visitors have averaged upwards of 1,800 per day, and on Saturday, the last day on which payment was taken, they exceeded 2,000. The total sum received at the doors up to Saturday evening for the admission of the public, and by the sale of catalogues, exceeded £1,100, and the Commissioners have determined on apportioning nearly the whole of this money, in sums of £100 each, to the artists of the ten next best drawings. The artists whose works have been chosen are Messrs Pickersgill, Corbould, Howard, R. A., W. C. Thomas, Stephanoff, Claxton, F. Howard, Rippin-gille, J. C. Waller, and Sir W. Ross, R.A.

MAINZERIAN FETE.—An excursion to Rosherville gardens by pupils of Mr Mainzer's classes was taken on Thursday, in one of the splendid vessels of the Diamond company. The day was remarkably fine, and nothing occurred to mar the enjoyment. The pupils met in the Banquet hall in the afternoon to sing, under the guidance of their distinguished leader, several compositions of the great continental masters, and some popular airs. The singing was excellent. The numbers present in the course of the day must have exceeded two thousand, and the gardens presented a most animated spectacle. The return trip was passed in singing the compositions of Mainzer and others. In fact, singing appeared to be the life and soul of the day's enjoyment, and it was most unweariedly followed up until the last moment by parties fore and aft, above and below. An "harmonica," a kind of improved seraphine, was the principal instrument used on board for accompanying the voices. This excursion affords an unquestionable demonstration of the practical utility of popularising musical knowledge, by furnishing an additional and elevated means of enjoyment to gatherings of the people for social recreation.—*Sun.*

EMBEZZLEMENT.—Mr Matthew Ledger, receiver at St Thomas's hospital, was at Union hall remanded, on charges of embezzlement of the property of that institution to so high an amount as £17,000. The cause which led to the inquiry into the state of his affairs was the dishonour of a bill for £200 of Messrs Watney, the distillers.

FIRE AT KENSINGTON PALACE.—About a quarter-past ten o'clock on Wednesday night the town and neighbourhood of Kensington were indescribably alarmed by a report that Kensington palace was in flames. Hundreds of persons instantly hurried to the palace avenue, when the report received confirmation by the appearance of a dense body of smoke and flame above the stables on the north side of the palace, and, on reaching the spot, a large rick of hay was found to be in flames. When the fire was first discovered only a portion of the west end had ignited, which leaves but little doubt that the fire was caused by some incendiary. The rick was the property of the late Duke of Sussex, and was, we believe, uninsured.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE.—On Saturday morning, at a quarter to five o'clock, the extensive premises belonging to Messrs Pinchin and Johnson, oil, turpentine, and colour merchants, situate in the New road, St George's-in-the-East, and adjoining the London and Blackwall railway, were discovered by police constable 100 H. to be extensively on fire. The alarm was immediately given, and great apprehensions were entertained, as the premises contained combustible materials, such as oil, turpentine, gunpowder, pitch, &c. On the arrival of the engines, every effort was made, but to little avail. At this period a terrific explosion ensued, the joint result, no doubt, of the ignition of tanks and barrels of oil and gunpowder, which shook the adjoining houses like an exploding powder mill, and terrified the whole of the densely populated neighbourhood. The roof of the premises was blown into the air, and the walls burst asunder on both sides. The rush to avoid the falling fragments was fearful. A second explosion of lesser consequence ensued, by which the opposite houses received severe shocks, and had their windows shattered by the concussion. At this period upwards of 20,000 gallons of oil and spirits of turpentine were in a state of thorough ignition and ferment. After burning furiously for nearly three hours, the force of the flames seemed somewhat spent, and the united efforts of the firemen brought the conflagration under about seven o'clock, by which time the premises had been reduced to a misshapen mass of smouldering ruins. The cause of the fire is unknown, and no gas was on the premises. The entire building was consumed, together with the contents in the warehouses under the railway, to three arches of which considerable damage was done, causing a suspension of the traffic on the line for about two hours, the stone coping, rail rope, and telegraph being more or less injured.

PROVINCIAL.

ANTI-CORN LAW MEETINGS AT WINCHESTER.—Friday and Saturday last were signalized in this the capital of the agricultural district of Hampshire by demonstrations in favour of free-trade. Messrs Cobden, Bright, and Moore attended as a deputation from the league. On Friday evening a tea meeting was held at the Corn Exchange and attended by about 300 persons. Saturday being market day a large audience consisting almost exclusively of farmers, amounting to about 2000 persons, was assembled in a field near the Corn Exchange. A considerable number of the landowners of the neighbourhood were present. Ralph Etwall, Esq. M.P., occupied the chair. After able addresses from Messrs Bright, Cob-

den, and Moore, and some sharp discussion, a resolution in favour of free trade was carried with only about twenty dissentients. Mr Owen and some of his socialist followers appear to have been present, but could not obtain a hearing. About 100 gentlemen afterwards dined together at the White Hart Hotel.

ROYAL AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.—The fifth annual meeting of this society commenced at Derby on Tuesday last. All was bustle and excitement, and from all parts of the country agriculturalists were expected. Admirable arrangements were made for the accommodation of visitors. It was found that the town would not be able to accommodate the numbers; large booths for temporary use were therefore erected in large numbers outside the town. A committee was also appointed to register lodgings throughout the town, by which means every stranger might soon be suited to his convenience. Monday was chiefly occupied in preliminary business. The show of implements on Tuesday was unequalled for the number and ingenuity of agricultural machines; but the trial that was to have taken place was prevented. In the evening, the Council of the society dined with the Mayor; there were present the Duke of Richmond, Earl Spencer, Lord Morpeth, Professor Buckland, and a number of agricultural peers, members, and other gentlemen. Next day there was a show of stock, and a dinner of the Council in the County hall, at which long lists of prizes awarded to exhibitors of stock were read. The speakers generally dwelt upon the necessity and advantages of science and agriculture; and Professor Buckland held up the Earl of Ducie as the most skilful user of science in practical farming. On Thursday, there was a grand dinner in a splendid pavilion erected for the purpose, preceded by a magnificent show of cattle, which was attended by swarms of people. At the dinner, of which the Duke of Cleveland was chairman, Earl Spencer, Mr Everett, American ambassador, and Lord Morpeth were among the speakers, and a large number of noblemen and gentlemen were present. On Friday the proceedings terminated, and on Saturday the town was almost deserted.

STATE OF SOUTH WALES.

The correspondent of the *Times* supplies the following information as to the progress of Rebecca and her daughters:—

The gate breakers continue their nocturnal depredations with unabated vigour; in fact, they have got much bolder, as they now do not hesitate to break down gates, not only in remote districts and at dead of night, but even venture to attack and demolish gates in the immediate vicinity of large towns in the broad glare of daylight, and within a very short distance of the stations of the military. Such was the case with the Pont-Newydd gate, which, after its demolition by the Rebeccaites no less than three times, was being rebuilt by the Trust, when at about four o'clock in the afternoon, a troop of men disguised and armed appeared before the workmen, and scaring them away (which, however, they did not succeed in doing until they had soundly thrashed two special constables appointed to watch the gate), completely destroyed the newly-erected foundations of the gate and toll house, which they threw into the river Tewey. Intelligence of this daring outrage was instantly conveyed to Carmarthen, a short five miles off, when the 4th dragoons were ordered out to scour the country in all directions, and endeavour to discover the now fugitive Rebeccaites. After a sharp ride of about fourteen miles, performed in the short space of an hour and ten minutes, the troops returned without having succeeded in taking a single prisoner, or even in gaining a clue to the depredators. A great number of gates have been destroyed in the county lately, including New-inn gate, near Llandilo (second time), Gwarallt gate, near Lampeter, two gates near Cardigan, the gates at Minke, Pontyeates, Kidwelly, Garielgach, and several others.

The military are still stationed throughout the disturbed districts, and Colonel Love and Colonel Trevor, the vice-lieutenants, are indefatigable in their exertions to prevent the possibility of a further breach of the peace.

The Canaston gate, near Narbeth, about two miles and a half from the town, was destroyed two nights since; and although now it is correctly ascertained that a party of the Rebeccaites actually passed through the town of Narbeth to the work of destruction, yet they passed so quietly, that neither the special constables nor the yeomanry guard on duty heard anything of them, nor did a single person of the many in the town who saw them pass give any information to the authorities upon the subject. There were about 100 of them who attacked the gate, many of them armed with guns, which they fired during the time they were at the work of destruction. They did not demolish the toll house; but told the toll keeper, that if he dared to take any more tolls, they would demolish the house on that day week.

The *Welshman* also contains the following:—"The Rebecca trials excite very great interest. The business of our assizes, which commence to-morrow, will be unusually heavy. There are nearly seventy persons on bail charged with having been concerned in the late 'riots.' Besides these, there are six in the borough gaol charged with rioting at Tallog. There are also four prisoners in the county gaol for divers offences.

A correspondent of the *Sun* thus points out one or two of the many grievances which the poor peasantry endure:—"The main source of income of the whole country is the sale of stock. The measures of the government produced almost a total stagnation in that trade. The consequence has been distress and ruin. Another cause of complaint is the personal conduct and bearing of the magistrates—many, too many, of whom are ignorant, conceited, and proud men, accustomed from their infancy to perfect submission on the part of their tenants and dependents, and not brooking the slightest opposition to their supreme and sovereign wills. Justices' law is bad enough in England. Multiply that badness by a tenfold degree of pride and ignorance, and you will

approximate to a notion of what it is in Wales. The tithes in Wales are also a source of grievance, and particularly the statutable increase given by the sliding scale of the averages. Full nineteen-twentieths of the whole population are dissenters, whose places of worship are crowded, while the few churches there are, are but thinly attended. The people are also aware of the trust with which the original grant of tithes was clothed—viz., the four-fold application of them, so ably proved by several modern as well as ancient authors. They therefore feel that, as no statute of limitations extends to a trust, and no change of proprietorship can alter the nature of the property, poor rates and church rates ought not to co-exist with the payment of tithes or their substitute, the present rent charges. The coercion of tenants to vote with their landlords, also forms a ground of complaint. The cry for 'The bean,' i. e. voting by ballot, is general, except amongst landlords; but when Rebecca comes at the next election, as I have no doubt she will, to make landlords vote with their tenants, however disagreeable it may be to their feelings, I think they will call for it too. Political knowledge is slowly but gradually gaining ground among the hills of the principality. It will produce its effects in time, and if the whole country were united together with the same fidelity and steadiness as the followers of Rebecca, whatever they willed must come to pass."

CARDIFF ASSIZES.—Baron Rolfe opened the summer assizes at Cardiff on Tuesday. In charging the grand jury, he adverted to the Rebecca riots which have taken place in the three southern counties of the principality, and said that prompt and severe punishment was necessary to repress disorder. If the parties engaged in these disorders had real grievances to complain of, those grievances did not justify outrage, and the laws must be vindicated.

STATE OF THE IRON TRADE.

Two meetings during the past week have been held by the Staffordshire ironmasters, which reveal the fearful situation to which persons engaged in the trade are reduced.

On Thursday the quarterly meeting of the ironmasters took place at the town hall, Birmingham, when a further reduction of the prices took place. Staffordshire bar iron was offered at £5 a ton, being a further reduction of 10s. a ton. Pig iron was reduced 5s. a ton; and, notwithstanding these ruinously low prices, little business was done. There was nothing but gloom throughout the meeting, without a gleam of hope. A memorial, representing the extreme depression of the trade, and the sufferings of masters and men, and concluding with the assurance that a continuance of the distress would be dangerous to the peace of the district, was signed in the hall by a majority of the largest proprietors in the district, and will receive, in a day or two, the names of every master in the trade who may not be prevented by absence from home. A deputation, consisting of highly respectable gentlemen, was then appointed to present the memorial.

A strike among the miners is daily feared. On Saturday evening, the notice of a drop, which the masters have given, of threepence a day, expired, and on Monday the men were expected to turn out. The men have issued bills appealing to the miners and public at large against their employers. The quarterly meeting of the ironmasters held in Dudley on Saturday, like that held at Birmingham on Thursday, in consequence of the present extremely depressed state of the staple trade of this populous manufacturing district, created more than usual interest. The chief, indeed, the absorbing points of interest in the conversation of the day, were the state of the mining population, the probability of a strike, and the result of the approaching interview with Sir R. Peel. In no instance has there been any attempt to reduce the wages of the workmen; indeed, several of the most extensive ironmasters declared that wages were already too low. The reduction has been confined to the men in the getting of coal and ironstone. At the conclusion of the strike last year, the getters of thick coal in Tipton and other parts were reduced from 3s. 6d. to 3s. per day. It is now proposed, and notice to that effect has been given, to reduce thick coalmen in Oldbury and Westbromwich, to 3s., and thin coalgetters from 2s. 3d. to 2s. per day. These reductions, it is understood, will extend to the neighbourhoods of Walsall, Bilston, Wednesbury, &c.

The correspondent of the *Times* says of the miners—"At one colliery in the last week the men had only three-fourths of a day's employment, and out of this they would have to contribute 8d. or 10d. towards the sick fund. During the present week, however, employment has been more plentiful, inasmuch as the masters and purchasers of coal, anticipating the threatened turn-out, have materially increased their orders, and there has, as a matter of consequence, been an unusual flow of boats up the canal into the mining districts. This was very perceptible on the Grand Junction or Birmingham canal this morning. The four days of this week (that is about the average of this week's employment) it is feared, however, will, in some neighbourhoods, be followed by a partial, if not a total, cessation of labour. Some of the men seem driven to desperation. When they have full employment and moderate wages, it is well known that no men work harder or live better than the Staffordshire colliers; but little work and inadequate wages have evidently produced effects of the most lamentable kind."

As is usually the case, an industrious attempt is made by the daily press to bring the chartists on the scene, and attribute to them and their agitation what results from the selfish policy of a dominant aristocracy.

The strike has already commenced and is likely to become general. The correspondent of the *Chronicle* says:—

In this neighbourhood (West Bromwich) the pits belonging to Mr Bagnall, Mr Haines, Mr Wood, and

others, stopped work, the men having refused to accept the proposed reduction of 6d. a day. Some of the pits at Hilltop have also struck, and many at Oldbury, Dudley Port, Bilston, and other places, are also brought to a stand. I cannot say with any accuracy how many men are out, but there are thousands idle, and will be in a few days in actual want of the common necessities of life. In the course of a fortnight others are expected to strike, when their notices are up, so that you may expect to hear in a short time of this immense district being in motion. The unfortunate men appear to have no leaders, and, in the absence of any specific plan of agitation or resistance, talk of nothing but wild revenge.

One of the men, on returning from a meeting, told the reporters the speakers had said, they did not mind being hungry themselves; but when they heard their wives and children crying for bread it cut through them, and they could not, nor they would not stand it. They said they would have it settled one way or other, for they would get a pike a piece and march up to London, and see the Queen and Prince Albert, and Sir Robert Peel, and ask them how it was to be settled. I am not foolish enough to attach undue importance to the frantic threats of starving men; but from all I know of this district (and I hesitate not to assert that the ironmasters in their memorial have not overstated the danger, in expressing their fears that it will be impossible to continue the peace of the district in the present deplorable condition of the masses) it is absolutely impossible to convey an idea of the amount of suffering among the poor for thirty miles round. It is admitted on all hands to be very great, and if not speedily remedied will involve all classes in one common ruin. Some of the men seem to know that their masters cannot help them; others, less informed, saddle all their misfortunes upon their employers; but the great majority say the thing is wrong in London, and there it must be settled. At present they are all perfectly quiet, nor do I see the least disposition amongst the poor people to violence.

THE MINERS' ASSOCIATION.—This society has progressed throughout some of the principal mining counties of England and Scotland to an extraordinary degree, and presents now a very formidable appearance. The head-quarters were removed from Wakefield, on the 1st of May last, to the Black Swan Inn, Newmarket, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where the delegate meetings are held, and the central business of the society transacted. The present number of registered members is upward of thirty thousand, twenty thousand of whom are in the counties of Durham and Northumberland. There have been for some time past twelve missionaries, but at a delegate meeting held at Newcastle a fortnight ago, the number was increased to fifteen, who are entirely employed in lecturing in Staffordshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Wales, and Yorkshire, and these men are to continue itinerating until the whole of the mining population of the three kingdoms are organized, which with the present machinery is expected to be about October next. Two missionaries are at present in the neighbourhood of Leeds, lecturing nightly to the colliers in the various villages, and we hear that large audiences attend them, and that the registration of members in this part of the country is extending rapidly.—*Leeds Mercury*.

A meeting, attended by at least twenty thousand pitmen, met at noon last Saturday, on the Black Fell, about four miles from Newcastle. The object of this meeting was to promote a universal union among miners for keeping up their wages and protecting their rights, and resolutions were passed with a view to the bettering of their condition. The numerous assemblage was very orderly.

COLLIERS.—A riotous outbreak took place on Tuesday, at Wolverhampton, when a number of colliers and miners from the neighbourhood of Sedgley attacked several police constables, and beat them in a most brutal manner. Five of the rioters were ultimately captured, and the others dispersed.

PROGRESS OF FATHER MATHEW AND TEETOTALISM.—On Sunday, the 9th, Father Mathew arrived in Leeds from York, and from that time till his departure on Tuesday morning was incessantly engaged. He preached on Sunday evening, and afterwards administered the pledge. He administered mass early on Monday morning, attended a public breakfast, then a grand *fête* at the Botanical gardens, and in the evening a tea party. The *Leeds Mercury* says that, during Father Mathew's visit to Leeds on Sunday evening and Monday last, he administered the pledge to several thousand persons—some suppose to 6,000! In Bradford, on Tuesday, it is said he administered the pledge to 7,000! In Huddersfield, on Wednesday, his visit is also said to have been attended with similar success. Even in York (a place which, comparatively speaking, had never hitherto felt the existence of total abstinence) he gave the pledge to 2,000.

AN INSANE MEETING.—At a vestry meeting held at Wakefield last week, for the purpose of passing the constable's accounts, a scene of confusion took place, which ended in Mr G. Craven moving a resolution—"That this meeting is not in a sufficiently sound state of mind to entertain so important a question as that embraced by my resolution." This resolution was put to a show of hands, and carried almost unanimously. The Chairman said that it was time they all went home, as they had voted themselves insane. The meeting then broke up.—*Yorkshire Paper*.

CHARGE OF PERJURY AGAINST LORD HUNTINGTOWER.—At the Winchester assizes on Thursday, an indictment was preferred against Lord Huntingtower for alleged perjury, committed in an affidavit sworn before Mr Maberly, a commissioner, some time back, in a cause in which Captain Cauty was plaintiff and Lord Huntingtower was defendant. It appears that Captain Cauty was anxious to arrest Lord Huntingtower, and there was an order of Mr Baron Rolfe

obtained for that purpose, and it became necessary to file an affidavit, which gave rise to the proceedings. The counsel for the prosecution, however, stated that he had no evidence to support the indictment, and, of course a verdict of "Not Guilty" was given.

WHOLESALE IMPOSTURE.—The police have discovered at a low lodging house in Wakefield an immense number of papers, evidently belonging to an extensive gang of begging letter impostors. The documents consisted of several sets—many hundreds of genuine signatures of noblemen, clergymen, and gentry in Wakefield, Heath, York, Halifax, Leeds, Lincoln, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, &c.; models of petitions for aid to emigrants to New Zealand, losers by fire and shipwreck, cripples, &c.; routes of roads and descriptions of residents and their characters, with the most convenient time to call on each. Everybody at the lodging house disowned the papers.

DREADFUL ACCIDENT ON BOARD THE CAMPERDOWN.

—On Wednesday, whilst a salute was being fired in honour of the King of the Belgians passing down Sea Reach, one of the portable magazines blew up, forced the upper deck on the starboard side up from the mizenmast as far forward as the mainmast, and knocking down nearly all the cabin bulkheads, fore and aft, on the upper gun-deck; scarcely a whole pane of glass is left in the ports on that deck. So great was the force, that the iron horn-knee on the beam-end, at the break of the bulk-head, where the magazine exploded, was broken quite asunder. There are three seamen wounded. Lieutenant Blackmore is dangerously hurt, a large splinter having fixed itself under his jaw bone, which cannot at present be extracted. There are two young ladies, who were visiting the ship with their friends, most dangerously wounded and burnt; there are also several others slightly wounded and burnt. Nearly all the officers present have received slight injuries by splinters. One of the seamen, James Duke, and Miss Yerker, have since expired. Miss Barton still remains in a precarious state.

INCENDIARISM AT LIVERPOOL.—As one of the police was going his rounds about 8 o'clock on Tuesday sennight, he found a large heavy piece of pitch intermixed with fresh cotton, lying under the weather-board of a cellar in Greenock-street. The cellar is situate underneath an immense pile of warehouses, known as Tobin's, which pile is extensively filled at the present time with cotton and other valuable property, the produce of our colonial possessions. The piece of pitch and cotton was immediately removed to the office of the commissioner of police, where it has been inspected and found to be in a highly combustible state, only requiring the slightest application of a lighted match to set it in a blaze. It was most fortunate that the discovery was made at so early a period of the night, else the consequences might have been dreadful. This is the third discovery of a similar kind which has been made within a very short time in Liverpool; and, although it is universally admitted that such combustible substances could not have accidentally been placed in the dangerous positions in which they have been found, yet by some it is supposed, or rather hoped, that those substances have been so placed by idle and vicious persons, not with the view of setting the property of the public on fire, but merely of adding to that excitement and alarm on the subject of incendiarism which generally prevailed at this port.

DREADFUL ACCIDENT IN THE BRISTOL CHANNEL.

—As four of the elder brethren of the Trinity house were in their steam yacht inspecting the buoys in the Channel, they found it necessary to enter a small attendant boat, in the course of their investigation. On their return the steamer cut the boat in two, and all of them were immersed in the water. Two saved themselves by swimming, viz., Captains Probyn and Madan, but we regret to say, the others, viz., Captains Drew, and Jenkin Jones, perished. Captain Jones had only been elected a brother for about a fortnight.

ROBBERY IN A RAILWAY TUNNEL.—On Wednesday, a lady traveling to Leicester by the London and Birmingham railway was robbed of £40, effected, she believed, in Kilsby tunnel, during the temporary darkness on the passage through it. At the Leicester station she gave information of the fact, when an express engine was instantly despatched to Rugby, where the party suspected was ascertained to have taken a ticket for Hampton, and from thence to Derby, where he took another ticket to Rugby again. The engine continued its course after three successive trains, and came up with the last at Leicester, where the passengers were examined by the lady, who identified her late fellow traveler, and upon whom the whole of the £40 was found.

IRELAND.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—The usual weekly meeting of the association was held at the Corn exchange, Dublin. Mr O'Connell handed in a large remittance from Waterford, and proceeded to give a report of his mission to that county. He had seen nothing to equal the Waterford demonstration on Sunday last. There were not less than 400,000 persons present; there were 60 private carriages drawn by four horses, upwards of 40 private carriages drawn by two horses, 109 jaunting cars and gigs, and more than 300 common cars, each carrying six or eight persons, for the most part women. They had at that meeting not only the people, and the intelligent and powerful middle classes, but the high gentry of the country. It was an important fact that that meeting was attended by more men of wealth than any meeting that preceded it; and if the gentry of even one-half of the other counties of Ireland assembled in like man-

ner, they would have a parliament of their own before Sir J. Graham would have time to change the coat in which he talked so much nonsense on Friday night last. The repeal rent was reported at £1,690. Mr O'Connell gave notice, that in consequence of the dismissal of the repeal magistrates by the government, and in pursuance of the practice followed in the catholic association, he should move at the next day of meeting—

"That they would adopt measures for the appointment in each district of arbitrators, instead of going, as heretofore, to hostile petty sessions' courts, and paying fees to the clerks of bigoted magistrates; and that the association would have legal instruments prepared, authorising the persons to act as arbitrators" [loud and prolonged cheering].

MR O'CONNELL AND THE DEBATE ON IRELAND.—An extraordinary meeting of the Repeal association was held on Friday at the Corn exchange. After some previous business, Mr O'Connell made a long speech on the late debate on Irish grievances. The first point worthy of notice was his altered tone towards this country—

There is a better spirit, too, in the debate; there is something of the commencement of more generous feelings towards Ireland. As long as we crouched timidly, and suffered injury and oppression without showing we were conscious of the wrong, and would endeavour, by peaceable means, to be righted, so long our paltry foes trampled upon and despised us; but now we have assumed the attitude of freemen, and, in the face of the nation, we are spoken of with respect by those who heretofore would not condescend even to hear us. He especially noticed the position of the Orangeists, and the determination of all parties to throw them overboard. Of the late declaration of ministers, he said—

One of the mighty plans of the ministry is this: they say, "Let the Irish alone; they will soon be wearied of agitation; they will give it up, and agitation will be at an end. They are a vivacious people; they are easily excited; it is, however, but a flash, and that flash will shortly expire. We will fold our hands before us, and wait until the excitement passes by" [hear]. But those men don't know us. I would be glad to see any of them standing on the banks of the Shannon until all the water passes by; and I tell them that all the waters of the Shannon shall pass away before Irish excitement is put an end to by anything but the attainment of our national legislature. The legality of their proceedings was now fully recognised, and they no longer heard anything about the "inevitable tendency" to outrage, upon which it had pleased Lord Chancellor Sugden to descant so diffusely. They (the repealers) now had the encouragement of the government, the fiat of the government, the acknowledgment of the government that their conduct was peaceable, legal, constitutional, and they would proceed onwards in their majestic progress till there was but one single enrolment of repealers from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear, from Connemara to the hill of Howth [loud cheers].

He advised the people of Ireland to redouble their efforts; to continue to hold large meetings; and, above all, to furnish increased subscriptions to the repeal fund. Let them beware of ribbonism, and reject chartism altogether. Mr O'Connell then related the following bit of history, which is worthy of being preserved:—

The Reform bill was brought in without any substantial increase in the franchise; and Lord Dungannon, who was zealously anxious to give Ireland a proper bill—although as one of the ministry he could not succeed against his colleagues—suggested that the Irish members should meet, and that a deputation of them should wait upon Lord John Russell. He (Mr O'Connell) saw Lord John Russell, who told him that the same idea was in his own mind, and that he would be in his office, which was at that time somewhere between the admiralty office and Charing cross, at an appointed hour (one o'clock) the next day. He (Mr O'Connell) told him that it was in contemplation to call a meeting of the Irish members, who were to appoint a deputation to wait upon him. The Irish members met accordingly, and Sir John Newport and he (Mr O'Connell) were appointed to wait on Lord John Russell. They waited on his Lordship at one o'clock, and then he broke to Lord John Russell his plan of a chattel interest and a term of years. Lord John Russell did not know that a freehold in Ireland meant frequently only an estate for life, and not, as in England, actual property in an estate. He explained to his Lordship that some had only a life interest in land; that in many instances the lives were so bad that they should rather be called "deaths;" that when a life dropped, the vote was lost, and he suggested that three years would be a better tenure than such a life interest as that. He also showed him that a lease of nine years would be longer in the calculation of a notary public than one of these lives. He persuaded his Lordship that the franchise might be raised as high as fourteen years, calculating one half as already expired, and giving seven years as the interest instead of the old life. He (Mr O'Connell) thought that Lord John Russell was persuaded, for he seemed to assent to his reasonings, and he and Sir John Newport left the room convinced that his Lordship would use his influence with the ministry to bring in a bill according to the suggestions that had been submitted. What was his surprise, however, on hearing that Lord John was anxious to have a second interview upon the same subject! He waited again on him at his office, and on entering, was astonished to find himself in the company of Lord Althorp and Lord Stanley, who came primed and loaded with all manner of plausible arguments against the extension of an honest franchise to Ireland, and in the interim had succeeded in removing all the impression which he (Mr O'Connell) imagined he had produced upon the mind of Lord John Russell. As long as he could engage in fair open argument with the noble lords it was all very well, but Lord Stanley at length had recourse to the expedient of writing upon slips of paper, which he handed under the table across to Lord Althorp [hear, hear]. He detected Lord Stanley in the act on several occasions. Well, the upshot was, that Lord John Russell was brought completely round; all the suggestions and representations of Sir John Newport and himself went for naught. The bill went into committee, and the result was, that Ireland got the year's franchise, and they were obliged to yield to the 10% rate. Lord Stanley fixed the amount of that sum on condition that he (Mr O'Connell) would not have moved an amendment for a lower rate of franchise. He told the noble lord that there would be no use in moving any amend-

ment, but gave him expressly to understand, that neither he (Mr O'Connell) nor his country were to be bound by the arrangement. Yes, it was quite true that Lord John Russell had consulted him about the franchise, but it was equally true that he did not avail himself of any of his suggestions. "Did I ever lock the cupboard against you?" asked a master of his apprentice at a trial in Cork. "No, you never did, sir," answered the apprentice, "but there was never anything in it" [loud laughter]. So, too, was it with Lord John Russell; he did not close his ears against his suggestions, but he took as little out of them as the apprentice took out of the cupboard [laughter and cheers].

The established church then came under review.

At present it was the firm determination of the repealers to respect vested rights. They advocated the application of the ecclesiastical state revenues to purposes of public charity, to the erection of asylums, infirmaries, and such like institutions [hear, hear]; but they were at present resolved to respect vested rights, and did not like the idea of disturbing the benefited clergymen in the enjoyment of their emoluments. It was now their intention not to seek the application of a benefited clergyman's emoluments to public purposes until after his death. This was their determination at present; but how long would he be able to ensure this advantage to the protestant clergymen if they persevered in a course of inveterate hostility to their country—if, on occasion of elections, they put themselves forward, as heretofore they had too frequently done, in a position of downright enmity to the people's rights—and if they continued, as heretofore, to meet with contempt, indignity, and insult, the clergy of the people [hear, hear]; if they adopted a course so intolerant, offensive, and ungenerous, he could not take upon him to guarantee that the people of Ireland would consent to spare the interests of such men.

He invited the landlords to join him in securing repeal, promising that their interests should be respected. The proceedings of parliament were then commented upon in a marked altered manner; and the tory members who expressed themselves in favour of lenient measures especially commended.

DREADFUL ORANGE OUTRAGE.—The Nation of Saturday published the following, but it has not as yet been corroborated:—"We have just received the particulars of an atrocious outrage committed in nearly the same neighbourhood as the Ballyronney murder. A sham battle takes place annually on the 13th of July, in the neighbourhood of Scarva, to commemorate the battle of the Boyne. On Thursday it took place as usual, and, though the event was expected, Ribbon Rowan, the stipendiary magistrate of the neighbourhood, had not one policeman in the town. After the battle, as the Orangemen were dispersing, a large party of them, which had to pass through the town land of Ballyvarley, and who were headed by a serjeant on recruiting service, attacked some catholic houses, and beat some men and women severely. A serious riot ensued. We cannot afford space for all the details in a second edition; but two men, an old woman of seventy, and a young girl of nineteen, are severely wounded—the latter, it is thought, mortally. These four were stabbed with swords or bayonets."

IRISH PRESBYTERIAN MARRIAGES.—The following account from the Dublin Post represents the state of feeling among the presbyterians in the north of Ireland in reference to the late decision—

"Belfast was yesterday in uproar. The annual assembly of the Irish presbyterian church has been sitting there for some days, and the unexpected opinion of the English judges, affirming the invalidity of mixed marriages by presbyterian ministers, fell upon them like a shell. For two centuries the presbyterian ministers have celebrated marriages between members of the established church and presbyterians, the validity of which has been affirmed over and over again in the Irish courts. But this, it now seems, is all wrong—nay, more, it is now discovered that all the great lawyers of England, from Lord Holt to Lord Stowell, were also wrong on this point—that the common law of England will only recognise a marriage to be valid when celebrated by a clergyman in priest's orders. This is a frightful discovery, even for the established church, as all marriages which have been celebrated by deacons are now illegal, a deacon not being a "mass priest." The issue of thousands of families are bastardised, marriage settlements broken through, and numberless deeds and contracts nullified. The House of Lords, however, do not intend, it is rumoured, to act upon the opinion of the judges. But, as regards Ireland, the bitterest foe of its unhappy established church could not desire a more agreeable event, for the presbyterians publicly resolved yesterday to take measures in their own defence, which must end in the overthrow of the establishment. The episcopalian clergy stirred up this marriage question, and the Lord Primate, it has been stated, paid the law expenses of conducting it. The presbyterians, ever since they helped to secure to the church the tithe rent charge, have been thrown aside by the church, and this unwise attempt to insult the presbyterian clergy, and degrade them into laymen, has quite estranged the presbyterians from the establishment. They mean hereafter to act for themselves, and to leave the episcopalian clergy to the repealers. Sir Robert Peel will now find that he has got a new Irish difficulty on his hands, for the establishment will be in pieces in a year, if the presbyterians keep aloof, as they are now determined to do. The episcopalian clergy may be an endowed, but let them not be an established church; and let a marriage act be brought in upon a basis equally favourable to episcopalians, presbyterians, and Roman catholics. Any ascendancy, as a fiction of law, in favour of episcopalians, will not be endured."

IRISH PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLY.—Dr Cooke has seceded from this body on account of some differences respecting a plan for securing the return of presbyterian representatives in the House of Commons.

So very plentiful have salmon been in the upper part of Lough Swilly during the past week, that it has been no uncommon thing for one person to take twelve fine fish during the day in a small hand-loop net. The consequence is, that they are selling in Letterkenny for 2½d. per lb. Such an extraordinary take has not been known for many years past.—Irish paper.

Literature.

The Highlands, the Scottish Martyrs, and other Poems, by the Rev. JAMES G. SMALL. Edinburgh: Wm. Whyte and Co.

In the temple of fame, no niche is more coveted than that of Poesy. Yet, though many are the aspirants, stern are the tests and few the laurels. What trials environ the young candidate! The temperament itself; the madness, or rhapsody at least, which follows the draught of Hippocrene, self-torturing, suicidal as it has often proved! And then the difficulties! Poverty; patronage withheld, or ill-bestowed; successful rivals; theameleon taste of the moment, abhorring all colours but its own; the proverbial slowness with which worth finds its level. These are some of the arduous ways by which the poet must rise to his Olympus. Nor can we avoid sympathising with another perplexity (we speak supposititiously only, having, with hardly an exception, like Molière's Bourgeois Gentilhomme, spoken prose all our life), that, namely, of finding some metal which genius has not already enameled, or some vesture which it has not yet embroidered. Whatever room there may be for discovery in the mechanical world, poetical locomotion becomes every day more and more difficult. The realms of Apollo are crowded with high pressure machines. And were it not that many after their first impulse stop altogether, and that some burst from want of due management of their power, the roads would be absolutely impassable. Earth, air, water, have scarcely a track left, which the laws of literary primogeniture have not already assigned to some more fortunate predecessor.

We make these observations somewhat promiscuously—as Mrs Malaprop might say; they being rather suggested by the subject of poetry in general, than by this volume in particular. We apprehend this to be Mr Small's first appearance before a literary tribunal; an awful crisis—full of future fate! From some of this awfulness the author is, by position, exempted, and is not, we trust, destined to be one of those—

"Happier—if never
Their baffled hand with vain endeavour
Had touch'd the fatal zone to them denied."

In many respects Mr Small appears born under a fortunate star. First, he is a Scotchman; and though we are far from believing that this circumstance is a *sine quâ non* to a poetical view of the Highlands, it doubtless enhances the feelings with which their scenes have been regarded. Secondly, these poems, which are mostly college exercises, have had the nine years' keeping which Horace recommends, and do not appear till they have passed their—noviciate, we were about to say, but that that word refers to taking the veil, and our idea is that of putting it off. Thirdly, Mr Small is a young man, and the promise of the first fruit makes us expect more from the harvest. And though he intimates his hope that this will be his last appearance in this line, we cannot but think that this is only one of those lovers' promises which must not be too rigidly interpreted. Fourthly, he is a clergyman, and not ashamed of being one; whilst true to his sympathies and sacred profession, he has infused much of the *mens divinator* into his whole production, has lightened earth by the hues of heaven, and aided the effect of the present by the prospect of the hereafter. And lastly, he is a non-intrusionist, and we know of no predicament better calculated to rouse up a man's sensibilities, and to cause the blood to circulate warmly about the heart. Though written, therefore, many years since, the poems abound with allusions which belong to the present moment.

Altogether, we have read the volume with great interest and pleasure, and give it a cordial recommendation, as worthy of a place on the table of refined and Christian families. The poems may not prove a passport to immortality, it is true; but they are a very prepossessing letter of introduction, and their real beauties are greatly enhanced by a genuine tone of moral and religious sentiment which is above all praise.

The subject of the first poem is "the Highlands," an adventurous theme, when we remember how many odes and epodes have been devoted to it since Ossian's Æolian harp was heard in their solitudes, and since they have been taken into the association of discovered regions. Yet, if thunder-splintered mountains and broad lakes, now bright in the sunshine, then lurid in the storm—if resounding waterfalls, or lonely passes, peopled only with the shadows of past history, furnish materials, the subject is not yet exhausted.

Let an extract or two justify our opinion. The following are among the introductory stanzas:—

"It is a glorious power, that, from the mind,
Like a creative spirit, wanders forth,
And on immortal wings, flies, unconfined,
Exulting in its might, through heaven and earth,
Giving to all it looks on a new birth.
'Tis this so hallows the grey mouldering tower;
Hence laugh the valleys with such lively mirth—
Hence frown the hills with such subduing power—
Hence strike the clouds such awe when 'mid the storm
they lower.

"To thee, Imagination, hath been given
A wondrous power, that never knows decay,
To imitate the glorious work of heaven,
And breathe a living soul into the clay.
Things that are not, thou call'st, and they obey;
All nature yields to thy benign control;
It needs but thy creative voice to say,
'Let this fair frame have life,' and lo! a soul,
In thine own image formed, pervades the breathing
whole.

"Nor givest thou only life to all things fair,
And wondrous, and sublime, they all can bring,
Into the regions of the viewless air,
From each deep glen, dark wood, and murmuring
spring,
Spirits that fly aloft on airy wing—
Amid the storm career upon the blast—
Glide o'er the earth, or sport on grassy ring;
Or thou canst bid thy sons behold, aghast,
The forms of those who dwell in ages past."

Here is the description of Staffa. It is beautiful;
and, though the leading image is hardly original,
the use made of it is new:—

"But Staffa rises o'er the heaving tide,
And thither now my eager eyes are cast.
With sable cormorants its pillared side
Is peopled; and high soaring on the blast
The curlews shriek aloud. And now, at last
We reach the Cave, whose hundred columns make
A gorgeous temple, solemn, high, and vast;
Where ocean's choirs the eternal song awake,
Calling our souls a part in that deep strain to take.

"Yet here do many gaze with careless eyes—
Creatures of sensuous heart and earthly mould,
Who see unmoved the wondrous structure rise,
Hear through these aisles the ocean-anthem rolled,
And all the glories of this fane behold,
With souls unmoved—untouched by holy feeling—
Absorbed in speculations dry and cold—
While in their ears these solemn sounds are pealing,
And the mute rocks the while the Almighty's power
revealing.

"But oh! to stand alone in such a place,
Or with a few congenial hearts to swell
The ocean's song! What time can e'er efface
The feelings raised as by a magic spell,
At such a time—for evermore to dwell
Deep in the breast! Would that our hearts might be
As temples by God's hand prepared as well
To tune to sounds of holiest harmony
Each wave that enters there from life's tumultuous sea!"

pp. 28, 29.

One extract more will illustrate the moral tone
of the poem.

"Thine, O my God, and by thy goodness given
To lead the earth-bound spirit up to thee,
These glorious scenes, where all that's bright in
heaven—
In thine own image, bright and fair, we see
As in a mirror. Boundless, pure, and free,
The whispering wind, that where it listeth blows
With sweet refreshing power, is felt to be
An image of that spirit which bestows
Health on the soul diseased, peace on the man of woes.

"And when thy bright and bounteous sun appears,
And sheds from heaven's serene and cloudless height,
More beams wherewith glad nature's heart he cheers,
Glorious he seems as the great source of light;
But lovelier far appears he in my sight,
As the meet emblem of that better sun,
Whose beams dispel the shades of ancient night,
Revive the spirit of the contrite one,
And bring immortal joy to all he shines upon.

"The depth of waters and the strength of hills
Are thine, and thine the forest's winding glades;
Each dark and hidden place thy presence fills;
Each bright, each vast expanse thy power pervades;
Softly, yet deeply felt, 'mid evening's shades—
Conspicuous shining in the morning's beams—
Or when in pensive grey the twilight fades,
Or when a flood of living glory streams
O'er all the purpled sky, and wide o'er ocean gleams.

"When, mid the dreary calm of pensive eve,
They saw each magic hue around them melt;
Well might the musing sons of Greece conceive,
As 'mid some consecrated grove they knelt
By some old altar, that there surely dwelt
A spirit in each hill, and stream, and tree;
But all that power and beauty which they felt
Around them poured, our eyes unscaled may see,
United all in thee, the one pure Deity."

pp. 72, 73.

Our readers will be prepared from these extracts
to admit that the Spenserian stanza, which is the
author's favourite measure, is managed with consi-
derable aptitude and elegance.

The second poem, "The Scottish Martyrs," in a
different measure, has great beauties. But we can
only indicate them to the reader. "Imagination"
is a tale well told. The lyrical poetry at the close
of the volume is less interesting; except one son-
net. "The Lays of Israel" strike us as a disfigure-
ment altogether. Some of them want polish,
rhythm, and even thought.

A Plea for the Weekly Observance of the Lord's Supper;
with Suggestions as to the Proper Mode of its Admi-
nistration. London: Ward and Co. pp. 100.

A SMALL and well written book on an important sub-
ject. The arguments for the weekly observance of the
Lord's supper are clearly and forcibly set forth, and the
author's view confirmed by the evidence of historical tes-
timony, and the opinions of eminent Christians. The
objections urged against the practice are at the same
time well weighed and candidly rebutted. Without en-
tering at large into the question, we must express our
conviction that the subject has not received from the
church all the attention it demands. The little volume
before us is admirably calculated to effect its object.

The Anatomy of a Christian. In three parts. By E.
MANN. Ward and Co. 1843.

This little work "will remind the reader powerfully,"
we are told in the preface, "of some of the best pieces of

the old nonconformist theology—viz., Boston's 'Crook
in the Lot,' Flavel's 'Touchstone of Sincerity,' &c." Many
Christians will find it a useful volume, and a por-
table compendium of important truths.

Songs for the Million, and other Poems. By BENJAMIN
STOTT.

THE first series of these poems is political, and little
to our taste. The second part, consisting of miscel-
laneous poems, is much better. The author describes
himself as almost uneducated, and of the class of artisans.
We honour that class, and are glad to see the productions
of its real genius. But political poetry is very difficult to
write; and this author, in choosing his title, has addressed
his verses to a destination which, we fear, they will never
reach. The stanzas entitled "Beauty," and the last ode
in the book—"The Coming of Spring"—we believe to
be the best of the whole.

*Letters and Biography of Felix Neff, Protestant Mis-
sionary in Switzerland, the Department of Isère and
the High Alps.* Translated from the French of M.
BOST. By MARGARET ANN WYATT. Seeley and Co.

THE time is fresh in our recollection when the publi-
cation of the Rev. W. S. Gilly first made us aware that
the department of the High Alps, where the primitive
Christians of Gaul once found refuge, possessed an
evangelical missionary whose labours more than rivalled
those of the apostolic Oberlin. Since that period his life
has been republished in many forms, but never too often.
The present is an attempt to give us an obituary, consist-
ing as much as possible of his own materials. The
much vaunted self-denial of the Romish church gives
special interest to all that remains of a protestant minis-
ter, in whom fervency of spirit was allied to no morbid heat
of imagination—whose extraordinary self-denial was the
antipode of voluntary self-maceration or sour asceticism—
and whose labours, extraordinary, almost incredible, as
they were, have casually found a fame which, unsought and
unexpected as it was, could have constituted no motive
for action with him who endured them. In this volume
we see the man himself, and are privy to the secrets of
his bosom. It is evident that under a somewhat repul-
sive exterior beat a heart as kind as ever throbbed—a
heart, the whole sensibilities of which were tuned in har-
mony with the key-note of salvation. We cannot pretend
to judge of this work as a translation, having no oppor-
tunity of comparing it with the original. It appears,
however, to be well executed; and, saving one or two
flashes of churchism appended by way of note, and ex-
tracted from the narrative of Mr Gilly to which we have
referred, will well reward careful perusal, especially by
Christian ministers. It has our warm recommendation.

The Cold Water Cure Tested. London: John Cleave,
1, Shoe lane. Price Sixpence.

THIS is a clever, concise, and cheap work on the cure
of diseases by cold water only. We have an excellent
compilation of the opinions of different authors upon this
important subject, with a very clear description of the
mode of treating every disease to which "flesh is heir
to." Without offering an opinion as to the efficacy of
cold water for the cure of all cases of disease, we may
affirm that the subject is one worthy of our most serious
consideration; and as its truth can easily be tested by
practice in the house of the poorest man, it has nothing
of the mystery of quackery about it. The book also
contains an account of the treatment of animals under
the same system, and will be read with pleasure by those
interested in the successful practice of veterinary cures.
Apart from its utility, its cheapness places it within the
reach of all.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *Open the Prayer Book*; being an Answer to "A Layman."
2. *Protestantism Endangered; or, Scriptural Contention for the Faith.*
3. *Report of the Great Meeting for Christian Union.*
4. *Thoughts on the late Ecclesiastical Movement in Scotland.* By W. URWICK, D.D.
5. *Murray's Guide for Emigrants.*
6. *Second Letter to a Layman.*
7. *Tracts of the British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation.*
8. *What David Did.* A Reply to the Queen's Letter. By Rev. T. SPENCER.
9. *Readings and Conversations in Church History.*
10. *Reasons against Government Education.*
11. *Report of the Baptist Union.*
12. *Astronomy and Scripture.* By Rev. T. MILNER.
13. *Illuminated Magazine.* No. 3.
14. *Lintoff on the Teeth.*
15. *The Truth of the Matter.* By W. H. BONNER.
16. *The Family Herald.* Parts 1 and 2.
17. *The Atonement.* Two Letters to Dr Wardlaw.
18. *The Union of Christian Brethren—What is it?*
19. *Songs and Ballads.* Not by the Rev. J. M. NEALE.
20. *An Essay on the Profession of Personal Religious Conviction, and upon the Separation of Church and State.* Translated from the French of Professor A. VINET, of Geneva. Jackson and Walford.

Religious Intelligence.

DEATH OF A MISSIONARY.—On Thursday, the 5th of January, the Rev. O. Hadfield and the Rev. John Mason, church missionaries in New Zealand, were swimming their horses across the river Turakina, when Mr Mason was unhorsed, and perished. It appears that he might have been saved but for a pair of waterproof overalls, which defied his own efforts to swim, and the attempt of Mr Hadfield to rescue him. The body was found the following day, and on Saturday the 7th interred outside his newly erected church at Wanganui. The funeral was attended by all the respectable settlers of the place, and by a vast number of the natives.

TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM TO THE REV. R. W. HAMILTON.—A most interesting tea meeting (says the *Leeds Mercury*) was held on Wednesday the 5th inst. in the school room attached to Belgrave chapel, in this town, on which occasion a very handsome silver tea service was presented to the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton, who for a period of twenty-nine years has been pastor of that place of worship. This testimonial has been raised by a subscription amongst his

church and congregation, as a token of their warm esteem and affection. About five o'clock not less than 500 members of the church and congregation sat down to tea, provided by ladies connected with the chapel, whose exertions in furnishing the repast were the theme of universal commendation. Had there been accommodation for a larger number, we have no doubt twice as many would have been present. The company consisted entirely of the Rev. gentlemen's own flock, with the exception of a few of his early personal friends. The addresses of the Chairman (Mr Henry Rawson), the Rev. T. Scales, and the Rev. J. Ely, were very impressive, and the response of Mr Hamilton was characteristically warm-hearted. The "testimonial" to the rev. gentleman consists of a tea service and coffee pot, beautifully chased in raised bouquets; an elegant kettle stand and lamp to match, holding about four quarts; an elaborately embossed round basket, of exquisite workmanship; eighteen Victoria pattern teaspoons; pair of Victoria pattern butter knives; pair of Victoria pattern sugar tongs; sugar and caddy spoons, &c.; three beautiful paper trays, richly ornamented with eastern views.

OPENING OF HIGHBURY CHAPEL, BRISTOL.—The new independent chapel on St Michael's hill was opened for public worship on Thursday, 6th July last. At half-past six o'clock in the morning there was a meeting for prayer. The Rev. William Jay preached at eleven o'clock from Rev. v. 11, 12. In the afternoon about sixty gentlemen sat down to an excellent dinner at the Montague, Kingsdown, Richard Ash, Esq., presiding. After the cloth had been removed appropriate speeches were delivered by the chairman; also by the Rev. Messrs Lucy, Jack, Roper, and Gregory, and by St George D'Arcy Irvine, W. D. Wills, J. Goddard, H. O. Wills, and E. Humpage, Esqrs. In the evening the Rev. James Parsons, of York, delivered a most impressive and eloquent discourse, from Isaiah vi. part of 13th verse, "So the holy seed shall be the substance thereof." The Rev. Messrs Wood, Glanville, Lucy, Roper, Stone, Jack, Thoresby, and Gregory, engaged in the various services of the day. The collections amounted to upwards of 90l. The chapel, which is of stone with freestone pointings, is in the Gothic style of the fifteenth century, carefully carried out in all the details. The chapel is seventy feet by forty-four feet, and is capable of containing seven hundred persons; all the sittings are open, and above one hundred and fifty are free. The cost has been 2,500l., exclusive of the ground, which was given by Richard Ash, Esq. A school-room for two hundred children is attached.

HARTLEPOOL.—The foundation stone of a new independent chapel was laid, in Darlington place, in this town, on Wednesday afternoon, July 5th, in the presence of a large concourse of people. The Rev. D. Jones, of Booth, began the service by giving out an appropriate hymn. The Rev. C. Bingley, of Middlesborough, read the 87th Psalm, and fervently prayed for the Divine blessing. The Rev. J. Harrison, of Barnard Castle, explained the design with which they were assembled. The stone was then laid by the Rev. J. Harrison (who first preached here in connexion with this denomination) and the Rev. S. Lewin (pastor of the church) conjointly. In consequence of a heavy shower of rain, the remaining parts of the service were concluded in the Wesleyan chapel, which was kindly offered for the occasion. In the evening the members of the congregation and other friends assembled for tea, which was bountifully and gratuitously provided by the ladies, that the whole proceeds might go to the chapel fund. Nearly two hundred sat down. After tea the chair was taken by the pastor, and speeches were delivered by the Rev. Messrs Douglas, Bingley, Hill, Wortley, Harrison, Anderson, and Cummins. Ministers and members of almost all the denominations in the town were present, and all seemed to imbibe and reciprocate the spirit of unity and love. The erection of this chapel is a noble and self-denying effort on the part of the people who are undertaking it. It is only three years since they opened a place of worship in this town for the use of their denomination.

THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE.—It is little more than seven years ago since Salem chapel was opened for divine worship. Its cost, from first to last, amounts to nearly 7,000l., exclusive of annual interest paid upon the outstanding debt. At the anniversary last year the debt amounted to 2,400l. The gentleman who preached on that occasion (Rev. J. Sherman) ventured to suggest that it should be paid off, and exerted himself during his visit to obtain subscriptions towards that object. The suggestion was liberally met, especially by two gentlemen belonging to another congregation, one of whom offered to give 100l. to start with, and the second gave 50l.; so that by the return of the season of the year when the anniversary should be held, subscriptions to the amount of 3,000l. were realised. Various causes prevented the holding the anniversary at its proper date, and it was only at the beginning of the present month that the managers were able to announce "the last anniversary at Salem chapel." As nearly 400l. still had to be raised, it required some faith to make such an announcement. The Rev. James Sherman again consented to preach, and on Friday evening did so, to a rather slender congregation. He preached again on Sunday, both morning and evening; and on the last occasion, to the largest audience we ever saw assembled at a religious service in Bradford. At the close of the service the preacher announced that the requisite funds were raised, and that henceforth the splendid and commodious edifice would be free from debt. This large sum of money has been raised almost exclusively amongst the people usually worshipping at Salem chapel; and whilst they have been doing it, other nonconformist bodies in the

town have been actively and generously engaged in providing the means of religious instruction for the increasing population.—*Bradford Observer*.

ASHFORD, KENT.—Henry Smith, M.A., late of Guildford house, near Birmingham, has accepted the unanimous invitation of the baptist church to become their pastor, and will commence his stated labours (D.V.) on the first Sabbath in August.

CREDITON.—The Rev. Mr Porter, independent minister, who has accepted the pastorate of a large and long-established church, in New Brunswick, delivered an eloquent and impressive farewell sermon, on Sunday evening last, to a sorrowing congregation.

WELSH INDEPENDENTS.—The forty-third anniversary of the Welsh independents of Liverpool was held on Sunday and Monday last, when sermons were delivered by several eminent and popular ministers from the principality to crowded congregations. Our Welsh friends, by their liberal contributions on this occasion, gave a striking instance of the powerful influence of the voluntary principle, as well as of Christian liberality, the collections towards liquidating the debts remaining on their chapels having amounted to the handsome sum of £370, of which £80 was collected at the Tabernacle, £120 at Bethel chapel, and £170 at Salem chapel.

GUERNSEY.—On Tuesday, July 4, the Rev. Samuel Spurgeon was publicly recognised as the pastor of the Baptist chapel, Wesley road. The Rev. J. S. Hine read the scriptures and prayed; the Rev. T. Ridge stated the nature of a Christian church; the Rev. E. Carey asked the usual questions, and offered the ordination prayer; the Rev. James Millard gave the charge; and in the evening, the Rev. E. Carey preached to the people. Hymns were read, and prayers offered by the Rev. Messrs Jackson, Williamson, and Laxon. Prayer meetings were held at the chapel every morning and evening, from the day of recognition to the sabbath, when three sermons were preached by the Rev. James Millard, in commemoration of the opening of the chapel.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday, June 25th, the Rev. R. M. Davis, late a student of Blackburn academy, commenced his stated labours as pastor of the congregational church assembling in Hope chapel, Greenacres moor, near Manchester, by preaching the anniversary sermons for the Sunday school in connexion with that place of worship. The collections amounted to £43.

STEPNEY COLLEGE.—The annual meeting was held at Fen court, on the evening of June 22; W. B. Gurney, Esq., in the chair. From the report it appears that twenty-six students have enjoyed the advantages of the institution during the year. Dr Murch, the respected theological tutor, has been compelled by ill health to resign his charge, and we understand the committee have invited the Rev. Dr Davies of Montreal to succeed him. Ten of the students have matriculated at the university of London, and six more have passed their examination since the meeting. The applicants for admission into the college are eleven, only one of whom the committee have been able to receive. Four others were accepted, but owing to a debt of upwards of £700, they cannot be received for the present. The Revs Joseph Angus, William Barnes, Samuel Brawn, F. W. Goteh, Wm Groser, J. H. Hinton, S. Tomkins, and William Beddome, J. Danford, and W. L. Smith, Esqrs, took part in the proceedings of the meeting.

BIRTH.

June 17, the lady of the Rev. Jesse Hobson, of Barton Mills Suffolk, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

July 4, at Union chapel, Aldbro', Suffolk, by the Rev. John Mathews (minister of the place), Mr JAMES WADE, to JANE SPURLING, both of Aldbro'.

July 12, at St Mary-le-Bow, by the Rev. A. Trollope, Mr H. A. MIDDLEDITCH, chemist, North Brixton, third son of the Rev. T. Middleditch of Ipswich, to SARAH, only daughter of the late Thomas Wilson, Esq., of Chesham, London.

July 11, at Ebenezer chapel, Birmingham, by license (by Rev. J. Alsop), Mr DAVID MUIRHEAD, to Miss EDWARDS, both of that town.

July 17, at the Independent chapel, Maldon, by the Rev. R. Burls, Mr J. Goff, draper and grocer, Latchingdon, to Miss AMELIA MARTHA, eldest daughter of the Rev. W. HIGGINS, of the same place.

July 6, at the Independent chapel, Dartmouth, Capt. P. GILLARD, to MARY ANN, daughter of Capt. Geo. GILLARD, of the former place.

July 18, at the Independent chapel, Paignton, RICHARD CHAMPION RAWLINGS, Esq., of Blackpool terrace, Liverpool, to Miss MARY PROUT, eldest daughter of Richard HUNT, Esq., of Torbay mount, Paignton, Devon.

July 12, by license, at the independent chapel, Booth, by the Rev. James Pridie, Mr JOHN FARRAR, of Halifax, schoolmaster, to HANNAH, third daughter of Mr William THOMPSON, of Luddenden Foot, corn dealer.

July 11, by license, at Mount Zion chapel, Birmingham, by the Rev. J. A. James, the Rev. JOSEPH B. COLES, of Portsmouth, to ANNE, second daughter of Mr John M'URK, of Birmingham.

July 13, at High Street chapel, Huddersfield, by the Rev. W. A. Hurndall, pastor of Ramsden Street chapel, Mr EDWARD JOHN SINCLAIR COUZENS, master in the royal navy, to MARY, eldest daughter of Thomas PITT, Esq., all of Huddersfield.

July 12, in the Presbyterian chapel, Carlisle, by the Rev. Henry Wright, of the Congregational chapel, the Rev. ROBERT WOLSTENHOLME, Springhead, near Manchester, to ANNE, only daughter of Mr A. ROUTLEDGE, Carlisle.

July 13, at the Crescent chapel, Liverpool, by the Rev. John Kelly, Mr PETER MONKES, grocer, Manchester, to SARAH, fourth daughter of the late Mr Matthew CHATER, Market Harborough.

DEATHS.

June 12, JOSHUA WEDGWOOD, Esq., second son of the eminent individual of that name, at Maer hall, in his 75th year.

June 4, the Countess of ELGIN, the lady of the Governor of Jamaica, in childhood.

The Washington *Capital* says—"General Washington's coloured servant Carey was buried on Sunday last, from Greenleaf's Point, and followed to the grave by a large number of blacks. He was at the time of his death 114 years old, and was for a number of years ostler to General Washington, whom he served at the passage of the Delaware, and at the battles of Brandywine and Trenton."

The Right Hon. CHARLES KENDAL BUSHE, ex-chief-justice of the court of Queen's Bench, Ireland.

A SLEEPY MEMBER.—Mr Benjamin Chapman has addressed a letter to the newspapers to account for his vote on Wednesday night. Having made up his mind on the subject, he went to sleep, and allowed the debate to proceed. When the time came for the division he awoke, and not knowing what had occurred, thought the House had adjourned. He followed a crowd which he saw going into one of the lobbies, and to his amazement found himself amongst the majority, while he intended to vote at the other side. His vote however, was, *malgré lui*, registered for ministers.

CURIOUS MISTAKE.—In Mr Dent's memorable bill for the better prevention of dog stealing, in that part where the distribution of the fines is usually provided for, it was enacted that, "whosoever should be thereof convicted, should be visited with 300 lashes, one half to go to the informer, and the other to the poor of the parish."

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, July 14.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV, cap. 85:—
Lune street Wesleyan chapel, Preston, Lancashire. J. Thackray, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SUMNER, JAMES WILLIAM, Reading, Berkshire, builder.

BANKRUPTS.

HOBBS, HENRY AUSTIN, St Peter's, Isle of Thanet, Kent, machine maker, July 25, August 29: solicitor, Mr Hunt, Mildred's court, Poultry, London.

JONES, HENRY, Canterbury, victualer, July 21, August 18: solicitors, Messrs Waterman and Co., Essex street, Strand, London.

KENNEDY, FRANCES, now or late of New Bond street, and York place, Vauxhall road, stationer, July 25, August 29: solicitor, Mr F. N. Devey, Ely place, Holborn.

MILES, JAMES, jun., Acton, Suffolk, carpenter, July 26, August 25: solicitors, Messrs Raimondi and Gooday, South square, Gray's inn, London.

PERCIVAL, JAMES, jun., 203, Whitechapel road, soap maker, July 26, August 25: solicitor, Mr Surr, Lombard street.

ROOME, WILLIAM JOSEPH, late of Sheffield, but now of Gracechurch street, City, steel merchant, July 25, August 29: solicitor, Mr Bennett, Percy street, Bedford square, London.

STIRTON, JOHN ANDREW, 15, Chandos street, Covent garden, grocer, July 21, August 25: solicitors, Messrs Simpson and Cobb, Austin Friars.

WATTS, JAMES, 100, Holborn, licensed victualer, July 26, August 25: solicitor, Mr Sharp, Staple inn.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MOFFATT, JOHN, Glasgow, merchant, July 17, August 7.

PATON, WALTER, Leith, underwriter, July 20, August 9.

ROBB, JAMES, Edinburgh, carrier, July 20, August 10.

Tuesday, July 18.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV, cap. 85:—
Oak street independent chapel, Accrington, Lancashire. Henry King, superintendent registrar.

Wesleyan Methodist association chapel, Clitheroe, Lancashire. John Wilkinson, superintendent registrar.

Port Vale chapel, Port Vale, Herefordshire. Thomas Sworder, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTS.

ARMFIELD, RICHARD, King street, Cheapside, City, button manufacturer, July 25, August 26: solicitor, Mr Robert Ellis, Cowper's court, Cornhill.

BROWN, IRBS WILLIAM HODGES, Little Bowden, Northamptonshire, dealer in horses, July 29, Aug. 15: solicitors, Messrs Austen and Hobson, 4, Raymond's buildings, Gray's inn.

CHAPPELL, THOMAS, Sudbury, Suffolk, licensed victualer, July 25, Aug. 29: solicitor, Mr T. Lott, Bow lane, Cheapside.

COOPER, JAMES BRINON, 121, Drury lane, ironfounder, July 29, September 15: solicitors, Messrs Carlon and Haynes, 6, Chancery lane.

HARWOOD, JOHN and FREDERICK, 26, Fenchurch street, City, stationers, July 25, August 26: solicitors, Messrs Clarke and Davidson, Essex street, Strand.

NELMS, MATTHEW, 10, Back hill, Hatton garden, heath rug manufacturer, July 27, September 15: solicitor, Mr William Cox, 16, Pinners' hall, Old Broad street.

RADCLIFFE, THOMAS, Birmingham, stationer, July 27, August 21: solicitor, Mr W. Cox, Pinners' hall, Old Broad street, London.

RICHARDSON, ROBERT, 252, High street, Wapping, anchor manufacturer, Aug. 3, 31: solicitor, Mr Phillips, 31, St Dunstan's hill, City.

SIMONS, GEORGE, 49, King's square, Goswell road, watch manufacturer, July 27, Sept. 15: solicitors, Messrs E. and C. Harrison, 14, Southampton buildings, Chancery lane.

BELL, JOHN, Maxwelltown, Kircudbright, merchant, July 24, August 14.

BOWIE, WILLIAM, Falkirk, merchant, July 24, August 14.

PRINGLE, JAMES, St Andrew's, merchant, July 25, August 14.

BRITISH FUNDS.

The money market is very flat, scarcely any business is transacting, and quotations are nearly the same as last week.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	94	93½	93½	94	94	94
Ditto for Account	94	93½	93½	94	94	94
3 per cent. Reduced	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½
3 per cent. Reduced	101	101	101	101½	101½	101½
New 3½ per cent.	100½	100½	100½	101	101	101
Long Annuities	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½
Bank Stock	180	180	180	180	180	—
India Stock	261	262	—	—	—	—
Exchequer Bills	56pm	60pm	60pm	56pm	60pm	60pm
India Bonds	70pm	70pm	—	70m	—	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	112½	Mexican A.A.	29½
Belgian	104	Peruvian	17
Brazilian	72	Portuguese 5 per cent.	39½
Buenos Ayres	—	Ditto 3 per cent.	—
Columbian	23	Russian	115
Danish	—	Spanish Active	18½
Dutch 2½ per cent.	53½	Ditto Passive	4½
Ditto 3 per cent.	100½	Ditto Deferred	10½

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	37½	London and Brighton	33
Birmingham & Gloucester	50	London & Croydon/Trunk	—
Blackwall	41	London and Greenwich	4
Bristol and Exeter	57	Ditto New	16
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	28	Manchester & Birm.	22
Eastern Counties	9	Manchester and Leeds	78
Edinburgh and Glasgow	50	Midland Counties	67
Great North of England	62	Ditto Quarter Shares	16½
Great Western	89	North Midland	72
Ditto New	—	Ditto Eastern	21
Ditto Fifties	—	South Eastern and Dover	21
London and Birmingham	214	South Western	65
Ditto Quarter Shares	53	Ditto New	—

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, July 17.

Having a very large supply of wheat for this morning's market, chiefly from Essex, the trade opened less briskly: still a clearance was effected at rather better prices than could be obtained this day so'night. Free foreign supported the rates of Friday last, but the demand has not been so extensive. Flour has advanced to 50s. per sack.

Barley, beans, and peas the same as last week. There has been a tolerably fair sale for oats, chiefly to country buyers, at an advance of 6d. per qr on the rates of this day week.

Wheat, Red New	46 to 51	Malt, Ordinary	42 to 52
Fine	52 to 60	Pale	54 to 58
White	48 to 52	Peas, Hog	29 to 32
Fine	54 to 64	Maple	30 to 33
Rye	30 to 36	Boilers	30 to 32
Barley	28 to 30	Beans, Ticks	24 to 28
Malting	28 to 32		

Beans, Pigeon	29 to 32	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN.	
Harrow	26 to 30	Wheat	90s. 0d.
Oats, Feed	18 to 20	Barley	9 0
Fine	20 to 22	Oats	8 0
Poland	19 to 22	Rye	10 6
Potato	19 to 22	Beans	11 6
		Peas	10 6

Wheat	49s. 10d.	Wheat	49s. 1d.
Barley	28 8	Barley	27 8
Oats	19 7	Oats	18 9
Rye	32 8	Rye	31 1
Beans	29 9	Beans	28 9
Peas	31 7	Peas	30 6

SEEDS.

The prices of trefoil and white cloverseed are very firm. In red seed nothing passing. Several parcels of rapeseed offering of this year's growth, mostly of fine quality; the price asked was £36 per last, but this being more than seedsmen seemed disposed to give, no business was done in the article. Canaryseed moved off slowly at previous rates.

Linseed	per qr	Clover	per cwt
English, sowing	50s. to 60s.	English, red	36s. to 56s.
Baltic, ditto	—	Ditto, white	—
Ditto, crushing	38 to 41	Flemish, pale	40 to 49
Medit. & Odessa	40 to 44	Ditto, fine	44 to 48
Hempseed, small	31 to 36	New Hamb., red	—
Large	36 to 38	Ditto, fine	50 to 60
Canary, new	70 to 72	Old Hamb., red	40 to 44
Extra	72 to 78	Ditto, fine	50 to 56
Caraway, old	—	French, red	40 to 48
New	42 to 44	Ditto, white	—
Ryegrass, English	20 to 25	Coriander	10 to 16
Scotch	12 to 21	Old	16 to 20
Mustard	per bushel	Rapeseed	per ton
Brown, new	9 to 11	English, new	32s. to 37s.
White	9 to 10 6	Linseed cakes	—
Trefoil	18 to 21	English	9l. 10s. to 10l. 0s.
Old	12 to 16	Foreign	5l. 10s. to 6l. 0s.
Tares, new	3 to 4	Rapeseed cakes	5l. 5s. to 5l. 10s.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, July 17.

Irish butter was in limited request, and no sales made worth notice; the arrivals have been large, and the prices 1s. to 2s. per cwt lower, on board and landed. Foreign—the best Friesland dull at 84s. to 86s. per cwt. In bacon the demand has not been so free, nor the sales so large, as recently noticed, in consequence of full supplies; but prices are nominally as last quoted. Hams and tierce middles dull at previous rates. Hams in less request, and rather lower in price. Lard stationary in value, but the demand not so good.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, July 17.

In the hop market there has been a scarcity since our last of the pockets of last year's growth, and an advance may be noted of 3s. to 4s. per cwt in those particular descriptions. On Thursday last, so favourable were the accounts that some parties backed the duty at £150,000, since when it has receded to £135,000 again.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, July 17.

The trade this morning was in a very sluggish state. Beef suffered an abatement of about 2d. per 8lbs., and nearly 200 of the inferior qualities were driven away unsold. The numbers of sheep were small, and prime old Downs sold readily, but the value of all other kinds of sheep was with difficulty supported. The lamb trade was tolerably firm, at last week's quotations.

Beef	2s. 8d. to 4s. 0d.	Veal	3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.
Mutton	3 0 to 4 4	Pork	3 0 to 4 0
Lamb	4s. 0d. to 5s. 0d.		

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

Beasts	Sheep	Calves	Pigs
Friday 515	10,610	393	327
Monday 2,512	30,740	217	333

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, July 17.

Inferior Beef	2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d.	Inf. Mutton	2s. 10d. to 3s. 4d.
Middling do	2 8 to 2 10	Mid. ditto	3 6 to 3 10
Prime large	3 0 to 3 2	Prime ditto	4 0 to 4 2
Prime small	3 4 to 3 8	Veal	3 6 to 4 6
Large Pork	3 0 to 3 6	Small Pork	3 8 to 4 0
Lamb	4s. 0d. to 5s. 0d.		

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, July 17.

There are very few old potatoes offering. Of new potatoes the supplies from the neighbourhood of London are extensive, and command a firm inquiry at from 3s. to 5s. 9d. per cwt. From Holland and France about 300 sacks have been imported, and sold at from 2s. to 4s. per cwt. The quality of these potatoes is inferior.

WOOL.

The arrivals of new wool at market afford the manufacturers a better assortment from which to select their purchases. Sales are steady; prices stationary.

HAY, SMITHFIELD, July 15.—At per load of 36 trusses.	
Coarse Meadow	80s. to 88s.
New ditto	—
Useful old ditto	90 to 94
Fine Upland do	95 to 100
New Clover Hay	100s. to 120s.
Old ditto	—
Oat Straw	48 to 50
Wheat Straw	50 to 52

COAL EXCHANGE, July 17.

Stewart's, 20s. 3d.; Hutton's, 20s. 0d.; Lambton's, 20s. 0d. Hartlepool's, 20s. Ships arrived this week, 63.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, JULY 28.

TEA.—The public sales, consisting of 25,000 packages, commenced to-day. About 10,000 packages passed, and full half the quantity were sold at improved rates. Congou sold at 10½d. to 1s. 8d.; Pekoe kind, 1s. 9d. to 1s. 10½d. Hyson, common, 1s. 11d. to 2s. 1½d. Twankay, fine, 1s. 10d. to 1s. 10½d. Young hyson, 2s. 7½d. to 1s. 7½d.

COFFEE.—105 casks Jamaica were sold at 65s. to 96s. Generally speaking, the market is very heavy; and good ordinary Ceylons are offered at 41s. per cwt.

SUGAR.—The British plantation market is firm; the purchases amount to 600 hds. and tierces. 200 hds Barbadoes were sold by auction; good to fine yellow fetched 62s. 6d. to 65s. 6d. The refined market is lower. Standard lumps are offered at 76s. per cwt; brown grocery lumps at 75s. per cwt; and banded crushed 25s. 6d. to 25s. 9d. per cwt.

TALLOW.—St. Petersburg yellow candle is 41s. per cwt on the spot, and 42s. per cwt for the last three months.

Advertisements.

TOWN MISSIONARY.

WANTED, in a large Manufacturing Town, a CONGREGATIONAL TOWN MISSIONARY. None need apply but those who can give unexceptionable references. The Referees will be the parties first applied to. Application to be made to the Rev. J. G. MIAL, Bradford, Yorkshire.

A MANUFACTURER wants the services of an active YOUNG MAN, of business habits, whose time is not fully occupied, as a Commission Agent. The Principal will be in town in a few days. Applications (stating profession) may be addressed to R. A. D., Black Bull hotel, Holborn. Reference, either to the Minister or a Deacon of a Christian Church, will be considered satisfactory.

PROPRIETARY SCHOOL FOR THE TOWN AND COUNTY OF LEICESTER.

THE BUSINESS of the INSTITUTION will RE-COMMENCE on TUESDAY, AUGUST 1st.

TERMS—TO BE PAID IN ADVANCE.

Instruction in Classics, Mathematics, and General Science, with all the Branches of a thorough English and Commercial Education... (per annum) } 8 0 0
Pupils under Ten Years of age 6 0 0
Modern Languages, including French, German, and Italian 2 0 0
Drawing 2 0 0
Singing is taught on the popular System of Hullah at five shillings per quarter; and Drilling, by a Sergeant in the Army, at four shillings a quarter; and to these classes all members of the School will belong, excepting those whose parents signify their wish to the contrary.

Pupils are received into the house of the Head Master at the charge of £30 a year, and a quarter's notice is required previous to their removal, either from the School, or from the house of the Head Master.

DISSENTERS' and GENERAL LIFE and FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

NOTICE is hereby given that the Half-yearly Dividend, at the rate of Five per cent., declared on the 12th inst., is payable to the Shareholders on any day between Ten and Four, at the Offices of the Company, 62, King William street, London bridge.

This Company, established in 1837, and sanctioned by a special Act of Parliament, presents the security afforded by a Capital paid up and profitably invested; and invites a comparison of its terms, both in the Life and Fire departments, with those of any other respectable office throughout the empire.

All its arrangements are made in the most liberal manner, to meet the peculiar circumstances and convenience of every assurer.

By order of the Board,
THOMAS PRICE, Secretary.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Committee Rooms, 3, Exeter Hall, July 15, 1843.

LONDON COMMITTEE IN AID OF THE CHURCH BUILDING FUND.

President.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Breadalbane, &c., &c., &c.

Chairmen of Committee.

The Right Honourable Fox Maule, M.P.

Patrick Maxwell Stewart, Esq., M.P.

Alexander Campbell, Esq., of Monzie, M.P.

Treasurer.

James Nisbet, Esq., 21, Berners street.

Secretaries.

Rev. James C. Burns, 17, Gibson square, Islington.

Rev. James Hamilton, 7, Lansdowne place, Brunswick square.

Committee.

With all the adhering Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Scotch Churches in London, and various ministers and laymen whose names appear on the printed Circular.

COLLECTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS IN LONDON.

FIRST LIST.		
A lady at Regent Square church	£40 0 0	Mr A. T. Ritchie
E. M. Barrett, Esq.	50 0 0	Mr Ragg
Nadir Baxter, Esq. (Dan. xii. 1-4)	10 10 0	Mrs Reynolds
Rev. J. Berry, congregational minister	10 10 0	P. Maxwell Stewart, Esq., M.P.
Mr A. Beattie, Camberwell	5 0 0	Fred. Sargent, Esq.
Wm Brownley, Esq.	200 0 0	Wm Stevenson, Esq.
Rev. J. C. Burns	10 10 0	Dr A. P. Stewart
Mr Robert Bryce	5 0 0	Mr Duncan Smith
Mr David Blyth	100 0 0	Mr John Shiells
Mr David Bogue	10 0 0	Mr John Stewart
Mrs Bunting and Mr and Mrs Mackintosh	5 0 0	Mrs Colin Sharp
Mr Crichton	10 10 0	Mr and Mrs Scott
Miss De Lancey	5 0 0	Mr George Smith
John Dobie, Esq.	31 10 0	Mr Thomas Smith
Mr Robert Davidson	5 0 0	Messrs J. Spicer and Sons
R. Davidson, Esq.	26 5 0	Mrs Teed
Thos. Dornford, Esq.	5 5 0	Mr John Thurston
Exeter Hall, collection at the door after Public Meeting, June 28th	108 9 4	John Thomson, Esq.
An elder in London	20 0 0	Rev. Thos Thomson
Wall church	20 0 0	Hon. Mrs Thompson
Thos. Farmer, Esq., from self and Wesleyan friends	300 0 0	William Tassie, Esq.
Mr Joseph Gilchrist	5 5 0	Three sisters at Regent Square church
Alex. Gillespie, Esq.	300 0 0	Mr and Mrs Joseph Trueman, jun.
Mrs Colonel Grant	60 0 0	Regent Square church
Miss Grant	5 0 0	Mr Charles Vertue
Mr A. Grant	5 5 0	Mrs Webster
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Committee Room, 3, Exeter Hall, July 15, 1843.

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AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of

DEPUTIES of the several CONGREGATIONS of PROTESTANT DISSENTERS of the THREE DENOMINATIONS, held the 12th July, 1843, to consider the Educational Clauses of the Factories Bill as amended by the Committee, and on re-commitment, BENJAMIN HANBURY, Esq., in the Chair.

It was resolved—

"I. That this Committee, having carefully considered the Factories Bill, as now pending in the House of Commons, cannot but express their great surprise and regret that, notwithstanding the unprecedented number of petitions presented to parliament against the Educational Clauses of that bill, as well in its original as in its first amended shape, it should still, in its present form, contain provisions liable to several of the objections specifically urged in those petitions.

"II. That this Committee, though aware of the existence and nature of the present acts of parliament relating to the education of children employed in factories—and which are repealed, but in their principle partly re-enacted, by the present Bill—cannot admit the principle that former legislation on the subject should be held in any degree obligatory, as a precedent or a model; but if it were otherwise, they would still discover much reason for objection to the educational provisions of the Bill, as it is now pending, in several most objectionable principles involved in it, but not contained in either of the former statutes.

"III. That, still entertaining other general objections heretofore urged against the Bill, and which are in a great degree applicable to the Educational Clauses as they now stand, this Committee object to and strongly protest against the latter, more particularly, on the following grounds—

"1. Because the Bill proposes to constitute, by an act of the legislature, a Committee selected from among the Privy Council, a permanent Board of Control in respect of the education of children who are still under the natural guardianship of their parents.

"2. Because the body thus objectionably appointed, if the Bill as now framed were to pass, would possess, and be obliged to exercise, inquisitorial, and in effect severely punitive, powers, in respect of schoolmasters not in any degree indebted to the state by any pecuniary grants out of the public funds.

"3. Because, by the 35th clause, the Bill subjects the honourable and useful profession of a schoolmaster to a degrading and vexatious interference, since the mere fact of any schoolmaster having given a certificate of attendance to a single factory child, will render his school liable to inquisitorial visitations of the inspectors and sub-inspectors, with constables, at any time; and will subject not only such scholars as are factory children, but other scholars, and all other persons attending or being in the school, to examinations, either secret or in the presence of others, which, besides that, in some instances, they would necessarily be self-criminatory, would operate to train up the scholars to distrust and condemn the masters, whom it is essential they should look upon with deference and respect.

"4. That the Bill, while in effect it subjects to an objectionable system of examination by the inspectors of schools the entire course of instruction, religious as well as secular, given in schools in which religion is not taught by a minister of the Established Church, yet expressly exempts, in an invidious manner, the religious instruction given by any clergyman of that church from being a matter of inquiry and investigation by the inspectors, unless by the special authority of the archbishop of the province, or the bishop of the diocese.

(Signed) BENJAMIN HANBURY, Chairman.

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